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FOUR PERIODS

OF

PUBLIC EDUCATION,


AS REVIEWED IN

1832—1839—1846—1862

IN PAPERS BY

SIR JAMES KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, BART.

LONDON

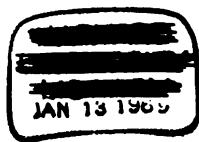
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS

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PUBLIC EDUCATION

AS AFFECTED BY

THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL

FROM

1846 TO 1852

WITH

SUGGESTIONS AS TO FUTURE POLICY,

BY

SIR JAMES KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, BART.

VOL. I.

LONDON

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS

1853

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FOUR PERIODS

OF

PUBLIC EDUCATION

TO
THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, K.G.

Ac. Ac.

AND

THE EARL RUSSELL

Ac. Ac.

THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN

TO WHOSE SAGACITY, MODERATION, AND FIRMNESS THE COUNTRY

OWES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

AND THE ADOPTION OF

THE MINUTES OF 1846

THIS VOLUME

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT

THE AUTHOR

March 1882



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FIRST PERIOD

**THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES
OF MANCHESTER IN 1832**

FOLLOWED BY

A SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF MANCHESTER

IN THIRTY YEARS

FROM 1832 TO 1862

THE
MORAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION
OF THE
WORKING CLASSES OF MANCHESTER
IN 1832.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE, inculcated by the maxim of the ancient philosopher, is a precept not less appropriate to societies than to individuals. The physical and moral evils by which we are personally surrounded, may be more easily avoided when we are distinctly conscious of their existence; and the virtue and health of society may be preserved, with less difficulty, when we are acquainted with the sources of its errors and diseases.

The sensorium of the animal structure, to which converge the sensibilities of each organ, is endowed with a consciousness of every change in the sensations to which each member is liable; and few diseases are so subtle as to escape its delicate perceptive power. Pain thus reveals to us the existence of evils, which, unless arrested in their progress, might insidiously invade the sources of vital action.

Society were well preserved, did a similar faculty preside, with an equal sensibility, over its constitution; making every order immediately conscious of the evils affecting any portion of the general mass, and thus ren-

dering their removal equally necessary for the immediate ease, as it is for the ultimate welfare of the whole social system. The mutual dependence of the individual members of society and of its various orders, for the supply of their necessities and the gratification of their desires, is acknowledged, and it imperfectly compensates for the want of a faculty, resembling that pervading consciousness which presides over the animal economy. But a knowledge of the moral and physical evils oppressing one order of the community, is by these means slowly communicated to those which are remote ; and general efforts are seldom made for the relief of partial ills, until they threaten to convulse the whole social constitution.

Some governments have attempted to obtain, by specific measures, that knowledge for the acquisition of which there is no natural faculty. The statistical investigations of Prussia, of the Netherlands, of Sweden, and of France, concerning population, labour, and its commercial and agricultural results ; the existing resources of the country, its taxation, finance, &c. are minute and accurate. The economist may, however, still regret, that many most interesting subjects of inquiry are neglected, and that the reports of these governments fail to give a perfect portraiture of the features of each individual part of the social body. Their system, imperfect though it be, is greatly superior to any yet introduced into this country. Here, statistics are neglected ; and when any emergency demands a special inquiry, information is obtained by means of committees of the Commons, whose labours are so multifarious, as to afford them time for little else than the investigation of general conclusions, derived from the experience of those supposed to be most conversant with the subject. An approximation to truth may thus be made, but the results are never so minutely accurate as those obtained from statistical investigations ; and, as they are generally deduced from a comparison of opposing testimonies, and sometimes from partial evidence, they frequently utterly fail in one most important respect,

namely—in convincing the public of the facts which they proclaim.

The introduction into this country of a singularly malignant contagious malady, which, though it selects its victims from every order of society, is chiefly propagated amongst those whose health is depressed by disease, mental anxiety, or want of the comforts and conveniences of life, has directed public attention to an investigation of the state of the poor. In Manchester, Boards of Health were established, in each of the fourteen districts of Police, for the purpose of minutely inspecting the state of the houses and streets. These districts were divided into minute sections, to each of which two or more inspectors were appointed from among the most respectable inhabitants of the vicinity, and they were provided with tabular queries, applying to each particular house and street. Individual exceptions only exist, in which minute returns were not furnished to the Special Board: and as the investigation was prompted equally by the demands of benevolence, of personal security, and of the general welfare, the results may be esteemed as accurate as the nature of the investigation would permit. The other facts contained in this pamphlet have been obtained from the public offices of the town, or are the results of the author's personal observation.

The township of Manchester chiefly consists of dense masses of houses, inhabited by the population engaged in the great manufactories of the cotton trade. Some of the central divisions are occupied by warehouses and shops, and a few streets by the dwellings of some of the more wealthy inhabitants; but the opulent merchants chiefly reside in the country, and even the superior servants of their establishments inhabit the suburban townships. Manchester, properly so called, is chiefly inhabited by shopkeepers and the labouring classes.¹ Those districts

¹ To the stranger, it is also necessary to observe, that the investigations on whose results the conclusions of this pamphlet are founded, were of necessity

where the poor dwell are of very recent origin. The rapid growth of the cotton manufacture has attracted hither operatives from every part of the kingdom, and Ireland has poured forth the most destitute of her hordes to supply the constantly increasing demand for labour. This immigration has been, in one important respect, a serious evil. The Irish have taught the labouring classes of this country a pernicious lesson. The system of cottier farming, the demoralisation and barbarism of the people, and the general use of the potato as the chief article of food, have encouraged the growth of population in Ireland more rapidly than the *available* means of subsistence have been increased. Debased alike by ignorance and pauperism, they have discovered, with the savage, what is the minimum of the means of life, upon which existence may be prolonged. The paucity of the amount of means and comforts *necessary for the mere support of life*, is not known by a more civilised population, and this secret has been taught the labourers of this country by the Irish. As competition and the restrictions and burdens of trade diminished the profits of capital, and consequently reduced the price of labour, the contagious example of ignorance and a barbarous disregard of forethought and economy, exhibited by the Irish, spread. The colonisation of savage tribes has ever been attended with effects on civilisation as fatal as those which have marked the progress of the sand flood over the fertile plains of Egypt. Instructed in the fatal secret of subsisting on what is barely necessary to life,—yielding partly to necessity, and partly to example,—the labouring classes have ceased to entertain a laudable pride in furnishing their houses, and in multiplying the decent comforts which minister to happiness. What is superfluous to the mere exigencies of nature is

conducted in the township of *Manchester only*; and that the inhabitants of a great part of the adjacent townships are in a condition superior to that described in these pages. The most respectable portion of the operative population has, we think, a tendency to avoid the central districts of Manchester, and to congregate in the suburban townships.

too often expended at the tavern ; and for the provision of old age and infirmity, they too frequently trust either to charity, to the support of their children, or to the protection of the poor laws.

When this example is considered in connection with the unremitted labour of the whole population engaged in the various branches of the cotton manufacture, our wonder will be less excited by their fatal demoralisation. Prolonged and exhausting labour, continued from day to day, and from year to year, is not calculated to develop the intellectual or moral faculties of man. The dull routine of a ceaseless drudgery, in which the same mechanical process is incessantly repeated, resembles the torment of Sisyphus — the toil, like the rock, recoils perpetually on the wearied operative. The mind gathers neither stores nor strength from the constant extension and retraction of the same muscles. The intellect slumbers in supine inertness ; but the grosser parts of our nature attain a rank development. To condemn man to such monotonous toil is, in some measure, to cultivate in him the habits of an animal. He becomes reckless. He disregards the distinguishing appetites and habits of his species. He neglects the comforts and delicacies of life. He lives in squalid wretchedness, on meagre food, and expends his superfluous gains in debauchery.

The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning, works in the mills from six till eight o'clock, and returns home for half an hour or forty minutes to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely used, and chiefly by the men ; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women. The tea is almost always of a bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality ; the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rates of wages this meal generally consists of boiled

potatoes.¹ The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard and butter are poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. Those who obtain better wages, or families whose aggregate income is larger, add a greater proportion of animal food to this meal, at least three times in the week; but the quantity consumed by the labouring population is not great. The family sits round the table, and each rapidly appropriates his portion on a plate, or they all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour, they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits accompanied by a little bread. Oatmeal or potatoes are however taken by some a second time in the evening.

The comparatively innutritious qualities of these articles of diet are most evident. We are, however, by no means prepared to say that an individual living in a healthy atmosphere, and engaged in active employment in the open air, would not be able to continue protracted and severe labour, without any suffering, whilst nourished by this food. We should rather be disposed, on the contrary, to affirm, that any ill effects must necessarily be so much diminished, that, from the influence of habit, and the benefits derived from the constant inhalation of an uncontaminated atmosphere, during healthy exercise in agricultural pursuits, few if any evil results would ensue. But the population nourished on this aliment is crowded into one dense mass, in cottages separated by narrow, unpaved, and almost pestilential streets, in an atmosphere loaded with the smoke and exhalations of a large manufacturing city. The operatives are congregated in rooms and work-

¹ The diet and household management of the factory operatives have undergone a great change since this was written. Tea, coffee, wheaten bread, and animal food, are now much more consumed.—J. P. K. S. 1862.

shops during twelve¹ hours in the day, in an enervating, heated atmosphere, which is frequently loaded with dust or filaments of cotton, or impure from constant respiration, or from other causes. They are engaged in an employment which absorbs their attention, and unremittingly employs their physical energies.² They are drudges who watch the movements, and assist the operations, of a mighty material force, which toils with an energy ever unconscious of fatigue. The persevering labour of the operative must rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the machine.

Hence, besides the negative results—the abstraction of moral and intellectual stimuli—the absence of variety—banishment from the grateful air and the cheering influences of light, the physical energies are impaired by toil, and imperfect nutrition. The artisan too seldom possesses sufficient moral dignity or intellectual or organic strength to resist the seductions of appetite. His wife and children, subjected to the same process, have little power to cheer his remaining moments of leisure. Domestic economy is neglected, domestic comforts are too frequently unknown. A meal of coarse food is hastily prepared, and devoured with precipitation. Home has little other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. His house is ill furnished, uncleanly, often ill ventilated—perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and in-nutritious; he generally becomes debilitated and hypochondriacal, and, unless supported by principle, falls the victim of dissipation. In all these respects, it is grateful to add, that those among the operatives of the mills, who

¹ The Factories Regulation Acts, restricting the hours of labour for women and children, had not then passed. Practically the restriction shortens the men's time to about an average of ten hours.

² A gentleman, whose opinions on these subjects command universal respect, suggests to me, that the intensity of this application is exceedingly increased by the system of paying, not for time, but according to the result of labour.

are employed *in the process of spinning*, and especially of fine spinning (who receive a high rate of wages and who are elevated on account of their skill), are more attentive to their domestic arrangements, have better furnished houses, are consequently more regular in their habits, and more observant of their duties than those engaged in other branches of the manufacture.

The other classes of artisans of whom we have spoken, are frequently subject to a disease, in which the sensibility of the stomach and bowels is morbidly excited; the alvine secretions are deranged, and the appetite impaired. Whilst this state continues, the patient loses flesh, his features are sharpened, the skin becomes sallow, or of the yellow hue which is observed in those who have suffered from the influence of tropical climates. The strength fails, the capacities of physical enjoyment are destroyed, and the paroxysms of corporeal suffering are aggravated by deep mental depression. We cannot wonder that the wretched victim of this disease, invited by those haunts of misery and crime the gin shop and the tavern, as he passes to his daily labour, should endeavour to cheat his suffering of a few moments, by the false excitement procured by ardent spirits; or that the exhausted artisan, driven by ennui and discomfort from his squalid home, should strive, in the delirious dreams of a continued debauch, to forget the remembrance of his reckless improvidence, of the destitution, hunger, and uninterrupted toil, which threaten to destroy the remaining energies of his enfeebled constitution.

The example which the Irish have exhibited of barbarous habits and savage want of economy, united with the necessarily debasing consequences of uninterrupted toil, have lowered the state of the people.

The inspection conducted by the District Boards of Health, chiefly referred to the state of the streets and houses, inhabited by the labouring population — to local nuisances, and more general evils. The greatest portion of these districts, especially of those situated beyond Great

Ancoats-street, are of very recent origin; and from the want of proper police regulations are untraversed by common sewers. The houses are ill sougled, often ill ventilated, unprovided with privies, and, in consequence, the streets, which are narrow, unpaved, and worn into deep ruts, become the common receptacles of mud, refuse, and disgusting ordure.

The Inspectors' reports do not comprise all the houses and streets of the respective districts, and are in some other respects imperfect. The returns concerning the various defects which they enumerate must be received, as the reports of evils too positive to be overlooked. Frequently, when they existed in a slighter degree, the questions received no reply.

Predisposition to contagious disease is encouraged by everything which depresses the physical energies, amongst the principal of which agencies may be enumerated imperfect nutrition; exposure to cold and moisture, whether from inadequate shelter, or from want of clothing and fuel, or from dampness of the habitation; uncleanness of the person, the street, and the abode; an atmosphere contaminated, whether from the want of ventilation, or from impure effluvia; extreme labour, and consequent physical exhaustion; intemperance; fear; anxiety; diarrhoea, and other diseases. The whole of these subjects could not be included in the investigation, though it originated in a desire to remove, as far as possible, those ills which depressed the health of the population. The list of inquiries to which the inspectors were requested to make tabular replies is placed in the appendix, for the purpose of enabling the reader to form his own opinion of the investigation from which the classified results are deduced.

The state of the streets powerfully affects the health of their inhabitants. Sporadic cases of typhus chiefly appear in those which are narrow, ill ventilated, unpaved, or which contain heaps of refuse, or stagnant pools. The confined air and noxious exhalations, which abound in such places, depress the health of the people, and on this

account contagious diseases are also most rapidly propagated there. The operation of these causes is exceedingly promoted by their reflex influence on the manners. The houses, in such situations, are uncleanly, ill provided with furniture; an air of discomfort if not of squalid and loathsome wretchedness pervades them, they are often dilapidated, badly drained, damp: and the habits of their tenants are gross—they are ill fed, ill clothed, and uneconomical—at once spendthrifts and destitute—denying themselves the comforts of life, in order that they may wallow in the unrestrained licence of animal appetite. An intimate connection subsists, among the poor, between the cleanliness of the street and that of the house and person. Uneconomical habits and dissipation are almost inseparably allied; and they are so frequently connected with uncleanliness, that we cannot consider their concomitance as altogether accidental. The first step to recklessness may often be traced in a neglect of that self-respect, and of the love of domestic enjoyments, which are indicated by personal slovenliness, and discomfort of the habitation. Hence, the importance of providing by police regulations or general enactment, against those fertile sources alike of disease and demoralisation, presented by the gross neglect of the streets and habitations of the poor. When the health is depressed by the concurrence of these causes, contagious diseases spread with a fatal malignancy among the population subjected to their influence. The records¹ of the Fever Hospital of Manchester prove that typhus *prevails almost exclusively* in such situations.

The following table, arranged by the Committee of Classification appointed by the Special Board of Health, from the reports of Inspectors of the various District Boards of Manchester, shows the extent to which the imperfect state of the streets of Manchester may tend to promote demoralisation and disease among the poor.

¹ Abundant evidence of this fact was collected by Mr. Wallis, lately House Surgeon to the House of Recovery.

No. of District.	No. of streets inspected.	No. of streets unpaved.	No. of streets partially paved.	No. of streets ill ventilated.	No. of streets containing heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, &c.
1	114	63	13	7	64
2	180	93	7	23	92
3	49	2	2	12	28
4	66	37	10	12	52
5	30	2	5	5	12
6	2	1	0	1	2
7	53	13	5	12	17
8	16	2	1	2	7
9	48	0	0	9	20
10	29	19	0	10	23
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	12	0	1	1	4
13	55	3	9	10	23
14	33	13	0	8	8
Total	687	248	53	112	352

A minute inspection of this table will render the extent of the evil affecting the poor more apparent. Those districts which are almost exclusively inhabited by the labouring population are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10. Nos. 13 and 14, and 7, also contain, besides the dwellings of the operatives, those of shopkeepers and tradesmen, and are traversed by many of the principal thoroughfares. No. 11 was not inspected, and Nos. 5, 6, 8, and 9, are the central districts containing the chief streets, the most respectable shops, the dwellings of the more wealthy inhabitants, and the warehouses of merchants and manufacturers. Subtracting, therefore, from the various totals, those items in the reports which concern these divisions only, we discover in those districts which contain a large portion of poor, namely, in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 13, and 14, that among 579 streets inspected, 243 were altogether unpaved, 46 partially paved, 93 ill ventilated, and 307 contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure, &c.; and in the districts which are almost exclusively inhabited by the poor, namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10, among 438 streets inspected, 214 were altogether unpaved, 32 partially paved, 63 ill ventilated, and 259 contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure, &c.

The replies to the questions proposed in the second table relating to houses, contain equally remarkable results, which have been carefully arranged by the Classification Committee of the Special Board of Health, as follows :—

District.	No. of houses inspected.	No. of houses reported as requiring whitewashing.	No. of houses reported as requiring repair.	No. of houses in which the sought repair.	No. of houses damp.	No. of houses reported as ill ventilated.	No. of houses wanting privies.
1	850	399	128	112	177	70	326
2	2489	898	282	145	497	109	755
3	213	145	104	41	61	82	96
4	650	279	106	105	134	69	250
5	413	176	82	70	101	11	66
6	12	3	5	5			5
7	243	76	59	57	86	21	79
8	132	35	30	39	48	22	20
9	128	34	32	24	39	19	25
10	370	195	63	123	54	2	232
11							
12	113	32	23	27	24	16	52
13	757	218	44	108	146	54	177
14	461	74	13	83	68	7	138
Total .	6951	2545	960	939	1435	452	2221

It is, however, to be lamented, that even these numerical results fail to exhibit a perfect picture of the ills which are suffered by the poor: The replies to the questions contained in the Inspectors' table refer only to cases of the most positive kind, and the numerical results would, therefore, have been exceedingly increased, had they embraced those in which the evils existed in a scarcely inferior degree. Some idea of the want of cleanliness prevalent in their habitations, may be obtained from the report of the number of houses requiring whitewashing; but this column fails to indicate their gross neglect of order, and absolute filth. Much less can we obtain satisfactory statistical results concerning the want of furniture, especially of bedding, and of food, clothing, and fuel. In these respects the habitations of the Irish are most destitute. They can scarcely be said to be furnished. They

contain one or two chairs, a mean table, the most scanty culinary apparatus, and one or two beds, loathsome with filth. A whole family is often accommodated on a single bed, and sometimes a heap of filthy straw and a covering of old sacking hide them in one undistinguished heap, debased alike by penury, want of economy, and dissolute habits. Frequently, the Inspectors found two or more families crowded into one small house, containing only two apartments, one in which they slept, and another in which they ate; and often more than one family lived in a damp cellar, containing only one room, in whose pestilential atmosphere from twelve to sixteen persons were crowded. To these fertile sources of disease were sometimes added the keeping of pigs and other animals in the house, with other nuisances of the most revolting character.

As the visits of the Inspectors were made in the day, when the population is engaged in the mills, and the vagrants and paupers are wandering through the town, they could not form any just idea of the state of the pauper lodging-houses. The establishments thus designated are fertile sources of disease and demoralisation. They are frequently able to accommodate from twenty to thirty or more lodgers, among whom are the most abandoned characters, who, reckless of the morrow, resort thither for the shelter of the night—men who find safety in a constant change of abode, or are too uncertain in their pursuits to remain beneath the same roof for a longer period. Here, without distinction of age or sex, careless of all decency, they are crowded in small and wretched apartments; the same bed receiving a succession of tenants until too offensive even for their unfastidious senses. The Special Board being desirous that these lodging-houses should be inspected by the Overseers, the Churchwardens obtained a report of the number in each district, which cannot fail to be a source of surprise and apprehension.

PAUPER LODGING-HOUSES.

District No.	No. of houses.	District No.	No. of houses.
1	0	9	0
2	108	10	12
3	51	11	26
4	0	12	—
5	6	13	60
6	0	14	1
7	3		
8	0		<hr/> 267

The temporary tenants of these disgusting abodes, too frequently debased by vice, haunted by want, and every other consequence of crime, are peculiarly disposed to the reception of contagion. Their asylums are frequently recesses where it lurks, and they are active agents in its diffusion. They ought to be as much the objects of a careful vigilance from those who are the guardians of the health, as from those who protect the property of the public.

In some districts of the town exist evils so remarkable as to require more minute description. A portion of low, swampy ground, liable to be frequently inundated, and to constant exhalation, is included between a high bank over which the Oxford Road passes, and a bend of the river Medlock, where its course is impeded by a weir. This unhealthy spot lies so low that the chimneys of its houses, some of them three stories high, are little above the level of the road. About two hundred of these habitations are crowded together in an extremely narrow space, and they are chiefly inhabited by the lowest Irish. Many of these houses have also cellars, whose floor is scarcely elevated above the level of the water flowing in the Medlock. The soughs are destroyed, or out of repair: and these narrow abodes are in consequence always damp, and are frequently flooded to the depth of several inches, because the surface water can find no exit. This district has sometimes been the haunt of hordes of thieves and desperadoes who defied the law, and is always inhabited by a class resembling savages in their appetites and habits. It is surrounded on every side by some of the largest fac-

tories of the town, whose chimneys vomit forth dense clouds of smoke, which hang heavily over this insalubrious region.

The subjoined document resulted from an inspection made by a Special Sub-committee of Members of the Board of Health, and the signatures of the gentlemen forming that Sub-Committee were appended to it.¹

Near the centre of the town, a mass of buildings, inhabited by prostitutes and thieves, is intersected by nar-

¹ TO THE MAGISTRATES OF THE DISTRICT.

GENTLEMEN,

The undersigned having been deputed by the Special Board of Health to inquire into the state of Little Ireland, beg to report that in the main street and courts abutting, the sewers are all in a most wretched state, and quite inadequate to carry off the surface water, not to mention the slops thrown down by the inhabitants in about two hundred houses.

The privies are in a most disgraceful state, inaccessible from filth, and too few for the accommodation of the number of people,—the average number being two to two hundred and fifty people. The upper rooms are, with few exceptions, very dirty, and the cellars much worse; all damp, and some occasionally overflowed. The cellars consist of two rooms on a floor, each nine to ten feet square, some inhabited by ten persons, others by more: in many, the people have no beds, and keep each other warm by close stowage on shavings, straw, &c.; a change of linen or clothes is an exception to the common practice. Many of the back rooms where they sleep have no other means of ventilation than from the front rooms.

Some of the cellars on the lower ground were once filled up as uninhabitable; but one is now occupied by a weaver, and he has stopped up the drain with clay, to prevent the water flowing from it into his cellar, and mops up the water every morning.

We conceive it will be impossible effectually to remove the evils enumerated; and offer the following suggestions with a view to their partial amelioration.

First, to open up the main sewer from the bottom, and to relay it.

Secondly, to open and unchoke the lateral drains, and secure a regular discharge of the water, &c., into the main sewer.

Thirdly, to enforce the weekly cleansing and purification of the privies.

Fourthly, if practicable, to fill up the cellars.

Fifthly, to provide the inhabitants with quicklime, and induce them to whitewash their rooms, where it can be done with safety.

Sixthly, if possible, to induce the inhabitants to observe greater cleanliness in their houses and persons.

In conclusion, we are decidedly of opinion that should cholera visit this neighbourhood, a more suitable soil and situation for its malignant development cannot be found than that described and commonly known by the name of Little Ireland.

row and loathsome streets, and close courts defiled with refuse. These nuisances exist in No. 13 District, on the western side of Deansgate, and chiefly abound in Wood-street, Spinning Field, Cumberland-street, Parliament-passage, Parliament-street, and Thomson-street. In Parliament-street there is only one privy for three hundred and eighty inhabitants, which is placed in a narrow passage, whence its effluvia infest the adjacent houses, and must prove a most fertile source of disease. In this street also, cesspools with open grids have been made close to the doors of the houses, in which disgusting refuse accumulates, and whence its noxious effluvia constantly exhale. In Parliament-passage about thirty houses have been erected, merely separated by an extremely narrow passage (a yard and a half wide) from the wall and back door of other houses. These thirty houses have one privy.

The state of the streets and houses in that part of No. 4, included between Store-street and Travis-street, and London Road, is exceedingly wretched — especially those built on some irregular and broken mounds of clay, on a steep declivity descending into Store-street. These narrow avenues are rough, irregular gullies, down which filthy streams percolate; and the inhabitants are crowded in dilapidated abodes, or obscure and damp cellars, in which it is impossible for the health to be preserved.

Unwilling to weary the patience of the reader by extending such disgusting details, it may suffice to refer generally to the wretched state of the habitations of the poor in Clay-street, and the lower portion of Pot-street; in Providence-street, and its adjoining courts; in Back Portugal-street; in Back Hart-street, and many of the courts in the neighbourhood of Portland-street, some of which are not more than a yard and a quarter wide, and contain houses, frequently three stories high, the lowest of which stories is occasionally used as a receptacle of *excrementitious matter*:— to many streets in the neighbourhood of Garden-street, Shudehill:— to Back Irk-street,

and to the state of almost the whole of that mass of cottages filling the insalubrious valley through which the Irk flows, and which is denominated Irish town.

The Irk, black with the refuse of dye-works erected on its banks, receives excrementitious matters from some sewers in this portion of the town — the drainage from the gas-works, and filth of the most pernicious character from bone-works, tanneries, size manufactories, &c. Immediately beneath Ducie-bridge, in a deep hollow between two high banks, it sweeps round a large cluster of some of the most wretched and dilapidated buildings of the town. The course of the river is here impeded by a weir, and a large tannery, eight stories high (three of which stories are filled with skins exposed to the atmosphere, in some stage of the processes to which they are subjected), towers close to this crazy labyrinth of pauper dwellings. This group of habitations is called ‘Gibraltar,’ and no sight can well be more insalubrious than that on which it is built. Pursuing the course of the river on the other side of Ducie-bridge, other tanneries, size manufactories, and tripe-houses occur. The parish burial ground occupies one side of the stream, and a series of courts of the most singular and unhealthy character the other. Access is obtained to these courts through narrow covered entries from Long Millgate, whence the explorer descends by stone stairs, and in one instance by three successive flights of steps to a level with the bed of the river. In this last-mentioned (Allen’s) court he discovers himself to be surrounded, on one side by a wall of rock, on two others by houses three stories high, and on the fourth by the abrupt and high bank down which he descended, and by walls and houses erected on the summit. These houses were, a short time ago, chiefly inhabited by fringe, silk, and cotton weavers, and winders, and each house contained in general three or four families. An adjoining court (Barrett’s) on the summit of the bank, separated from Allen’s court only by a low wall, contained, besides a pig-stye—a tripe manufactory in a low cottage, which

was in a state of loathsome filth. Portions of animal matter were decaying in it, and one of the inner rooms was converted into a kennel, and contained a litter of puppies. In the court, on the opposite side, is a tan yard where skins are prepared without bark in open pits, and here is also a catgut manufactory. Many of the windows of the houses in Allen's court open over the river Irk, whose stream (again impeded, at the distance of one hundred yards by a weir) separates it from another tannery, four stories high and filled with skins, exposed to the currents of air which pass through the building. On the other side of this tannery is the parish burial ground, chiefly used as a place of interment for paupers. A more unhealthy spot than this (Allen's) court it would be difficult to discover, and the physical depression consequent on living in such a situation may be inferred from what ensued on the introduction of cholera here. A match-seller, living in the first story of one of these houses, was seized with cholera, on Sunday, July 22nd: he died on Wednesday, July 25th; and owing to the wilful negligence of his friends, and because the Board of Health had no intimation of the occurrence, he was not buried until Friday afternoon, July 27th. On that day, five other cases of cholera occurred amongst the inhabitants of the court. On the 28th, seven, and on the 29th two. The cases were nearly all fatal. Those affected with cholera were on the 28th and 29th removed to the Hospital, the dead were buried, and on the 29th the majority of the inhabitants were taken to a house of reception, and the rest, with one exception, dispersed into the town, until their houses had been thoroughly fumigated, ventilated, whitewashed, and cleansed; notwithstanding which dispersion, other cases occurred amongst those who had left the court.

These facts are thus minutely related, because we are anxious to direct public attention to the advantage which would accrue from widening this portion of Long Millgate, by taking down the whole of the houses on the Irk

side of the street, from a factory which projects into it, on that side, as far as Ducie-bridge, and thus improving this important entrance to the town, from Bury, and from the north-east of Lancashire.

The houses of the poor, especially throughout the whole of the Districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, are too generally built back to back, having therefore only one outlet, no yard, no privy, and no receptacle of refuse. Consequently the narrow, unpaved streets, in which mud and water stagnate, become the common receptacles of offal and ordure. Often low, damp, ill-ventilated cellars¹ exist beneath the houses; an improvement on which system consists in the erection of a stage over the first story, by which access is obtained to the second, and the house is inhabited by two separate families. More than one disgraceful example of this might be enumerated. The streets, in the districts where the poor reside, are generally unsewered, and the drainage is consequently superficial. The houses are often built with a total neglect of order, on the summit of natural irregularities of the surface, or on mounds left at the side of artificial excavations on the brick grounds, with which these parts of the town abound.

One nuisance frequently occurs in these districts of so noxious a character, that it ought, at the earliest period, to be suppressed by legal interference. The houses of the poor sometimes surround a common area, into which the doors and windows open at the back of the dwelling. Porkers, who feed pigs in the town, often contract with the inhabitants to pay some small sum for the rent of their area, which is immediately covered with pigstyes, and converted into a dung-heap and receptacle of the putrescent garbage, upon which the animals are fed, as also of the refuse which is now heedlessly flung into it from all

¹ I have placed in the Appendix No. II. a Note, written in 1862, containing the results of the inquiries of the Statistical Society of Manchester, as to the number of cellar dwellings in Manchester and Liverpool, in 1834-5-6.

the surrounding dwellings. The offensive odour which sometimes arises from these areas cannot be conceived.

There is no *Common Slaughter-house* in Manchester, and those which exist are chiefly situated in the narrowest and most filthy streets in the town. The drainage from these houses, deeply tinged with blood, and impregnated with other animal matters, frequently flows down the common surface drain of the street, and stagnates in the ruts and pools. Moreover, sometimes in the yards of these houses—from the want of a vigilant circumspection—offal is allowed to accumulate with the grossest neglect of decency and disregard to the health of the surrounding inhabitants. The attention of the commissioners of police cannot be too soon directed to the propriety of obtaining powers to erect a *Common Slaughter-house* on some vacant space, and to compel the butchers of the town to slaughter all animals killed in the township in the building thus provided.

The Districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, are inhabited by a turbulent population, which, rendered reckless by dissipation and want,—misled by the secret intrigues, and excited by the inflammatory harangues of demagogues, has frequently committed daring assaults on the liberty of the more peaceful portions of the working classes, and the most frightful devastations on the property of their masters. Machines have been broken, and factories gutted and burned at mid-day, and the riotous crowd has dispersed ere the insufficient body of police arrived at the scene of disturbance. The civic force of the town is totally inadequate to maintain the peace, and to defend property from the attacks of lawless depredators; and *a more efficient, and more numerous corps ought to be immediately organised*, to give power to the law, so often mocked by the daring front of sedition, and outraged by the frantic violence of an ignorant and deluded rabble. The police form, in fact, so weak a screen against the power of the mob, that popular violence is now, in almost every instance, controlled by the presence of a military force.

The wages¹ obtained by operatives in the various branches of the cotton manufacture are, in general, such, as with the exercise of that economy without which wealth itself is wasted, would be sufficient to provide them with all the decent comforts of life—the average wages of all persons employed in the mills (young and old) being from nine to twelve shillings per week. Their means are too often consumed by vice and *improvidence*. But the wages of certain classes are exceedingly meagre. The introduction of the power-loom, though ultimately destined to be productive of the greatest general benefits, has, in the present restricted state of commerce, occasioned some temporary embarrassment, by diminishing the demand for certain kinds of labour, and, consequently, their price. The hand-loom weavers, *existing in this state of transition*, still continue a very extensive class, and though they labour fourteen hours and upwards daily, earn only from five to seven or eight shillings per week.² They consist chiefly of Irish, and are affected by all the causes of moral and physical depression which we have enumerated. Ill fed—ill clothed—half sheltered and ignorant;—weaving in close damp cellars, or crowded workshops, it only remains that they should become, as is too frequently the case, demoralised and reckless, to render perfect the portraiture of savage life. Amongst men so situated, the moral check has no influence in preventing the rapid increase of the population. The existence of cheap and redundant labour in the market has, also, a *constant* tendency to lessen its general price, and hence the wages of the English operatives have been exceedingly reduced by this immigration of Irish—their comforts consequently diminished—their manners debased—and the natural

¹ 'The wages are paid weekly, not once a fortnight, or once a month, as is the case in collieries and many other places. The youngest child in the mill earns three shillings per week, and the best female spinner twenty-one shillings. The total paid is £356 —averaging nine shillings and three pence per week to each person employed.'—*Letter to Lord Althorp in Defence of the Cotton Factories of Lancashire*. By Holland Hoole, Esq.

² Evidence of Joseph Foster before the Emigration Committee, 1837.

influence of manufactures on the people thwarted. We are well convinced that without the numerical and moral influence of this class, on the means and on the character of the people who have had to enter into competition with them in the market of labour, we should have had less occasion to regret the physical and moral degradation of the operative population.

The poor-laws, as at present administered¹, retain all the evils of the gross and indiscriminate bounty of ancient monasteries. They also fail in exciting the gratitude of the people, and they extinguish the charity of the rich. The custom is not now demanded as the prop of any superstition; nor is it fit that institutions, well calculated to assuage the miseries which feudalism inflicted on its unemployed and unhappy serfs, should be allowed to perpetuate indigence, improvidence, idleness and vice, in a commercial community. The artificial structure of society, in providing security against existing evils, has too frequently neglected the remote moral influence of its arrangements on the community. Humanity rejoices in the consciousness that the poorest may obtain the advantages of skilful care in disease, and that there are asylums for infirmity, age, and decrepitude; but the unlimited extension of benefits, devised by a wise intelligence for the relief of evils which no human prescience could elude, has a direct tendency to encourage amongst the poor apathy concerning present exigencies, and the neglect of a provision for the contingencies of the future.

A rate levied on property for the support of indigence is, in a great degree, a tax on the capital, from whose employment are derived the incentives of industry and the rewards of the frugal, ingenious, and virtuous poor. If the only test of the application of this fund be *indigence*, without reference to *desert*—be *want*, irrespective of *character*—motives to frugality, self-control and industry are at once

¹ This was published before the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act.

removed, and the strong barrier which nature had itself erected to prevent the moral lapse of the entire population is wantonly destroyed. The tax acts as a new burden on the *industrious* poor, already suffering from an enormous pressure, and not only drags within the limits of pauperism unwilling victims, but paralyses with despair the efforts of those whose exertions might otherwise have prolonged their struggle with adversity. The wages of the worthy are often given to encourage the sluggard, the drunkard, and the man whose imprudence entails on the community the precocious burden of his meagre and neglected offspring.

The feeble obstacle raised in the *country* to the propagation of a pauper population, by making the indigent chargeable on the estates of the land-owners, is even there rendered almost entirely inefficacious by the too frequent non-residence of the gentry, or the indifference with which this apparently inevitable evil is regarded. In the *South* of England the fatal error has been committed of paying a certain portion of the wages of able-bodied labourers out of the fund obtained by the poor-rates; and a population is thus created, bound like slaves to toil, and having also like them a right to be maintained. But, in the large towns, the feeble check to the increase of pauperism, which thus exists in some rural districts, is entirely removed. The land is let to speculators who build cottages, the rents of which are collected weekly, a commutation for the rates being often paid by the landlord when they are demanded, which seldom occurs in the lowest description of houses. A married man having thus by law an unquestioned right to a maintenance proportioned to the number of his family, direct encouragement is afforded to improvident marriages. The most destitute and immoral marry to increase their claim on the stipend appointed for them by law, which thus acts as a bounty on the increase of a squalid and debilitated race, who inherit from their parents disease, sometimes deformity, often vice, and always beggary.

The number of labourers thus created diminishes the

already scanty wages of that portion of the population still content to endeavour by precarious toil to maintain their honest independence. Desperate is the struggle by which, under such a system, the upright labourer procures for his family the comforts of existence. Many are dragged by the accidents of life to an unwilling acceptance of this legalised pension of the profligate, and some, over informed by misfortune in the treachery of their own hearts, are seduced to palter with temptation, and at length to capitulate with their apparent fate.

Fearful demoralisation attends an impost whose distribution diminishes the incentives to prudence and virtue. When reckless of the future, the intelligence of man is confined to the narrow limits of the present. He thus debases himself beneath the animals, whose instincts teach them to lay up stores for the season of need. The gains¹ of the pauper are, in prosperity, frequently squandered in taverns, whilst his family exists in hungered and ragged misery, and few sympathies with the sufferings of his aged relatives or neighbours enter his cold heart, since he knows they have an equal claim with himself, on that pittance which the law awards. The superfluities which nature would prompt him in a season of abundance to hoard for the accidents of the future, are wasted with reckless profusion; because *the law takes care of the future*. Selfish profligacy usurps the seat of the household virtues of the English labourer.

Charity once extended an invisible chain of sympathy between the higher and lower ranks of society, which has been destroyed by the luckless pseudophilanthropy of the law.² Few aged or decrepid pensioners now gratefully receive the visits of the higher classes — few of the poor seek the counsel, the admonitions, and assistance of the

¹ See evidence of Mr. Allen concerning pauperism in Spitalfields.

² If the relief of indigence from the poor-rate were a matter of Christian charity, in any other sense than being a humane provision of an enlightened system of police, developed in a Christian nation, this might be just; but otherwise it involves a confusion of charity with police.—J. P. K. S. 1862.

rich in the period of the inevitable accidents of life. The bar of the overseer is however crowded with the sturdy applicants for a legalised relief, who regard the distributor of this bounty as their stern and merciless oppressor, instructed by the compassionless rich to reduce to the lowest possible amount the alms which the law wrings from their reluctant hands. This disruption of the natural ties has created a wide gulf between the higher and lower orders of the community, across which the scowl of hatred banishes the smile of charity and love.

That government have appointed a Commission of inquiry into the evils arising from the administration of the Poor-laws, must be a source of satisfaction to every well-wisher to the poor. Since it would be unjust to annul the existing provision for a rapidly increasing indigence which the law has itself fostered, the improvement of its present administration is all that the most sanguine can expect as an immediate result of this inquiry. Every change which assimilates the *method of distributing* this legal charity to that by which a well-regulated private bounty is administered, must be hailed.¹ The present official organisation in the large towns is incapable of producing these results. The parish officers and sidesmen are not sufficiently numerous to enable them (if they were permitted by law) to make a discrimination—concerning the characters of individuals, their actual condition, and the accidents or faults that may have occasioned it—equal to that which is observed in the most judicious distribution of private bounty. Since desert does not enhance the claim which indigence can enforce, the only relation which the parish officer now has with the applicant for relief is that of the investigation and proof of his indigence; and, to this end, those now em-

¹ This rule is not applicable to the simple relief of indigence. That is a pure regulation of police, giving security to life in order to give security to property and peace to society, by the suppression of vagabondage and crime. But it is applicable to all the moral relations of pauper children and indigent age in workhouses. —1832.

ployed may be sufficiently proper agents. But if we would substitute any portion of that sympathy with the distresses of the poor, and that gratitude for relief afforded—that acknowledged right to administer good counsel, and that willingness to receive advice—that privilege of inquiring into the arrangements of domestic economy, instructing the ignorant, and checking the perverse—all which attend the beneficent path of private charity, much superior men must be employed in the office of visiting the houses of the poor, and being the almoners of the public. Such an office can only be properly filled by men of some education, but especially of high moral character, and possessing great natural gentleness. An attempt should be constantly made to relieve the mind of the independent poor from the necessity of receiving an eleemosynary dole, by recommending the worthy to employment. It is not sufficient that the Sidesman or Churchwarden should give a few hours daily to an examination of all applicants in our enormous townships, but the towns should be minutely subdivided, each district having its local board, which (besides an executive parish overseer resident in the district, and thus possessing every means of becoming minutely acquainted with the character of the inhabitants), should also be furnished with its board of superior officers. By such means : by adopting the test of desert¹, at least to determine the *amount* of relief bestowed : by discouraging or even rejecting those whose indigence is the consequence of dissipation, of idleness, and of wilful imprudence ; and by making the overseers themselves the means of instructing the poor, that every labourer is the surest architect of his own fortune—by constituting them the patrons of virtue and the censors of vice, and besides being the almoners of the public charity, the sources of a powerful moral agency—

¹ There is no moral test applicable to destitution of the means of living. Society decides that it is for the public interest that even the most worthless indigent should be kept alive. The pauper's claim is for life, not on account of desert, but of indigence.—J. P. K. S. 1862.

much good might be effected.¹ The enormous expenditure, incurred by the present system, might be exceedingly reduced, and the alms might at length (by a process whose success would depend on the gradual moral improvement of society), be confined to such of the aged, the decrepid, and the unfortunate, as being without the hope of assistance from the charity of relations or friends, were thus reluctantly driven, by a hard necessity, to have recourse to the *fund of the poor*. *Societies for mutual relief should be everywhere encouraged*, and a constant effort should be vigorously maintained to disburden the public of this enormous tax, by every other *means which would contribute to the virtuous independence of the working classes*.

At present this alarming impost increases so rapidly, that it threatens ultimately to absorb the fund which ought to be employed solely in rewarding the labour of the industrious poor, and hence, to reduce the whole population to the condition of helots.

The fund derived from the poor's-rate for the relief of the indigent, is, in Manchester, as judiciously administered as the state of the law will permit. Too much praise can scarcely be given to the zealous exertions of those gentlemen who fill the offices of Churchwardens and Sidesmen. Yet the effect of the present state of the law is but too apparent here.

Pauperism is everywhere accompanied with moral and physical degradation. Impressed with this opinion, we endeavoured to discover, from such facts as might be ascertained at the town's offices, how this calamitous law affected Manchester.

Unfortunately, the distribution of the poor-rates is not registered separately for each of the police divisions. We are therefore only able to compare the four sections of the town visited by the overseers. The first and second

¹ The scheme here suggested is clearly impracticable as a method of administration for the relief of indigence: but it is also impossible, in the strictest relief of indigence as a matter of police, to overlook all the moral relations of men.—1862.

of these four sections, which we shall denominate the Newtown and the Ancoats districts, comprise Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and therefore contain almost exclusively poor inhabitants. On the other hand, the third, or central division, besides Nos. 5, 6, 9, and a small part of No. 8, which are inhabited by a great number of shopkeepers and tradesmen, contains also Nos. 10, 11, and 14, which have a very large proportion of poor. The fourth, or Portland-street District, besides Nos. 3, 7, and 13, containing many poor, likewise comprises No. 12, and the greater part of No. 8, in which the poor inhabitants are relatively much less numerous.

We have subjoined a table exhibiting the population of each of the police divisions, according to the last census, and arranged in the four sections visited by the overseers of the poor, so as to exhibit their relative population.

Newtown.	Ancoats.	Central.	Portland Street.
No. 2...25,561 ½ of 4... 9337½	No. 1...31,573 ½ of 4... 6223½	No. 5... 7275 6... 1274 9... 3318 10... 3886 11...13,635 14... 6834 ½ of 8... 686	No. 3... 11,431 7... 9784 ½ of 8... 2058 12... 1859 13... 7269
34,918½	37,798½	36,908	32,401

The cases relieved at the Churchwardens' offices are classed as Irish and English cases: the first consist exclusively of Irish cases *without settlements*, but under the denomination of English cases, are included *all who have obtained settlements, whether English or Irish*; and this class comprises a very great proportion of Irish. We have been enabled, by the liberality of the Churchwardens, and Mr. Gardiner's politeness, to obtain returns of the relative proportion of these cases during the four winter months of the four years from 1827 to 1831 inclusive, The general table is inserted in the Appendix¹, but

¹ See Appendix No. III.

from this we have deduced some more minutely classified results, which we conceive strongly to corroborate the opinions which we have hazarded, concerning the origin and growth of pauperism.

The table contained in the Appendix exhibits, in the first place, an alarming increase of pauperism in the whole township. The total number of *cases* (each representing, on the average, two and a half individuals) relieved in the township, in the months of November, December, January, and February of 1827 and 1828, was 30,717, or included 76,792 individual acts of relief, each continued for an indefinite period. This number had, in the same months of 1830-31, increased to 45,842, or, at a period when the population amounted to 142,026, it included 114,605 individual acts of relief, each of which comprised indefinite portions of the four months, or had *almost doubled in four years*. Supposing these acts to have been administered at all times to different persons, then, more than four-fifths of the whole population were relieved for an indefinite portion of the four winter months.

The relative proportion of Irish cases without settlements, and of English and Irish cases with settlements, and their relative increase during these four years, are perhaps still more remarkable.

Districts.	Nov. 1827 to Feb. 1828.		Nov. 1828 to Feb. 1829.		Nov. 1829 to Feb. 1830.		Nov. 1830 to Feb. 1831.	
	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.
NEWTOWN. No. 2 & $\frac{1}{2}$ No. 4	1559	6059	1490	5434	3911	8023	4051	9129
ANCOATS. No. 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ No. 4	1482	6701	2155	7158	2690	8022	3818	9027
CENTRAL. Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, & $\frac{1}{2}$ No. 8	366	7422	532	7161	742	9668	909	10,214
PORTLAND ST. Nos. 3, 7, 12, 13, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of No. 8	264	6864	577	6974	1186	8591	1114	7590

The proportion of Irish cases *without settlements*, in the

Ancoats and Newtown Divisions, containing Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and its relative increase, are exceedingly greater than in the Central and Portland-street Districts; notwithstanding that the number of Irish in these latter sections is much augmented by the inclusion of Nos. 3, 7, 10, and 13.

By the following table, this increase may be more easily compared :—

Districts.	Nov. 1827 to Feb. 1828.		Nov. 1828 to Feb. 1829.		Nov. 1829 to Feb. 1830.		Nov. 1830 to Feb. 1831.	
	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.
NEWTOWN AND ANCOATS.	3041	12,760	3645	12,592	6601	16,045	7869	18,156
CENTRAL AND PORTLAND ST.	630	14,286	1109	14,136	1928	18,259	2023	17,794

The Newtown and Ancoats Districts have always contained a greater proportion of Irish than any other portion of the town; but the increase of pauperism in the Central and Portland Districts, must evidently be ascribed to the recent rapid colonisation of Irish in Divisions 3, 7, and 10; since, whilst the Irish cases, having no *settlements*, have increased from 600 to 2000, or are more than trebled, — the cases having settlements, which have been relieved, have only increased from 14,000 to 17,000, or about two-ninths. In the same period, the rapid relative increase of the Irish cases having *no settlements*, in the Newtown and Ancoats Districts, renders it extremely probable, that the increase of those cases which *have obtained settlements*, is in a great measure to be imputed to the Irish; and that pauperism, therefore, spreads most rapidly in an ignorant and demoralised population. These tables also abundantly testify, that *pauperism chiefly prevails in those portions of the town, where the sources and evidences of moral and physical depression, to which we have alluded, are the most numerous.*¹

¹ I have no doubt whatever that this remark was founded on accurate observation; and varied experience of thirty years confirms it. — 1862.

The relative proportion of the population to the cases and individuals relieved, in the four Sections visited by the Overseers, is displayed in the following table:—

Districts.	Cases relieved for indefinite periods of the four winter months, 1830-31.	Population.	Individual acts of relief for indefinite periods of time.
NEWTOWN .	13,180	34,918½ of which ½ = 13,967½	32,950
ANCOATS . .	12,890	37,798½ ... ½ = 12,599½	32,225
Total . . .	26,070	72,717 ... ½ = 27,143½	65,175
CENTRAL .	11,123	36,908 ... ½ = 11,072 ½	27,807½
PORTLAND .	8694	32,401 ... ½ = 8100	21,735
Total . . .	19,817	69,309	49,542

The following table ¹ shows the relative proportion of cases relieved in the four Overseers' Sections during three portions of the year 1830-31, each containing four months.

Districts.	Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.		Mar. Apr. May, June.		July, Aug. Sept. Oct.	
	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.
NEWTOWN .	4051	9129	3896	7958	3409	7996
ANCOATS . .	3818	9027	3333	7801	3280	8107
CENTRAL . .	909	10,214	815	9474	695	9287
PORTLAND .	1114	7580	897	7050	863	7766
	9892	35,950	8941	32,283	8247	33,156

The population of the township is 142,026 ; and the cost of parochial relief in one year, each continued through indefinite periods of time, were 321,172, of which cast 67,700 concerned Irish who had obtained no settlements.

The sources of vice and physical degradation are allied with the causes of pauperism. Amongst the poor, the most destitute are too frequently the most demoralised—virtue is the surest economy—vice is haunted by profligacy

¹ See Appendix No. II.

and want. Where there are most paupers, the gin shops, taverns, and beer houses are most numerous. The following table enumerates the taverns of the town. Gin shops are held under the same licence, and are attached to three-fourths of these establishments.

NO. OF LICENSED TAVERN AND INNKEEPERS IN THE TOWNSHIP OF MANCHESTER.

No. 1 62	No. 6 39	No. 11 37
2 44	7 19	12 16
3 48	8 10	13 25
4 31	9 36	14 13
5 46	10 4	
		Total . . . 430

To this number may perhaps be added 322 gin shops. These last establishments especially abound in the poorest and most destitute districts, where their proportion to the taverns is at least four-fifths. We were unable to procure, from the officers of excise in Manchester, information concerning the relative proportion of the beer houses in the several divisions of the town; but we are informed by Mr. Shawcross, of the police department, that their number is at least three hundred. If we subtract fifty respectable inns, which, however, have generally tap-rooms attached to them, one thousand haunts of intemperance exist in Manchester.

The Districts 1, 2, 3, and 4, may be conceived to represent most correctly the exclusively labouring population; but in estimating the relative number of all these sources of vice frequented by the population of these districts, it is necessary to include those of the adjoining divisions 5 and 6, where a much smaller proportion of poor resides. The result is, that in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, there are 270 taverns, 216 gin shops (estimated as four-fifths of taverns), 188 beer houses (estimated as being distributed through the divisions of the town in the same ratio as the taverns), total 674: or more than two-thirds of the whole number of taverns, gin shops, and beer houses of the town, may therefore be considered as chiefly ministering to the vicious propensities of the inhabitants of Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Some idea may be formed of the influence of

these establishments on the health and morals of the people from the following statement ; for which we are indebted to Mr. Braidley, the Boroughreeve. He observed the number of persons entering a gin shop in five minutes, during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods from seven o'clock until ten. The average result was, 112 men and 163 women, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 412 per hour.

The report of the Committee on gaols reveals the gross mismanagement of the licence system in London, and shows that taverns are the rendezvous of criminals and profligates of the lowest order. The scenes of depravity which occur in them, without the shadow of concealment—the constant temptations to moral errors which they unblushingly offer to those orders of society which have the least power of repelling them—the seductions to grosser sins by which they enthrall the idle and unwary—the maxims of iniquity, and the arts of dishonesty, which are undisguisedly taught in them, by the miscreants who find a daily shelter there—all these glaring abuses demand the prompt and energetic interference of authority with the regulations of establishments, which, without the pretence of necessity, or the veil of one virtuous amusement, are public schools of vice.

The decency of our towns is violated, even in this respect, that every street blazons forth the invitations of these haunts of crime. Gin shops and beer houses encouraged by the law (which seems to value rather the amount of the public revenue, than the prevalence of private virtue) and taverns, over which the police can at present exercise but an imperfect control, have multiplied with such rapidity that they will excite the strong remonstrances which every lover of good order is prepared to make with government, against the permission, much less the sanction, of such public enormities. Two physicians of great experience who practise in two of our largest manufacturing towns, inform us, that *delirium tremens* (a disease occasioned by continued intemperance) has in-

creased, within the sphere of their observation, in an alarming ratio since the passing of the Beer Act; and another, who superintends one of the largest public Lunatic Asylums in the provinces, discovers that one great cause of the prevalence of insanity of late years is an addiction to the use of ardent spirits.

The amount of crime is one chief means of ascertaining the moral condition of a community. To the perfection of this estimate it is, however, essential that crimes committed against the person should be distinguished from those against property.¹ 'The moral guilt of the latter depending considerably upon the equality of the distribution of wealth throughout the country, the degree of ease in which the people live ought also to be brought into view; and when we compare the criminal calendars of different nations, we ought not to omit to refer to their respective modes of administering justice, and to the attention paid in each country to that branch of it which we call preventive. That *prevention* is by far the more important care, in point both of duty and expediency, is a truth which governments are beginning to perceive; though in most countries repression, and in not a few vindictiveness², still form the spirit of the penal code.' 'So long as the will of man is free, and it is in his power either to conform to the law, or to violate it, the care of the legislature should be to turn that will into the right channel.'

The state of the registers, required for an accurate investigation of the amount of crime committed in Manchester, was such as to demand more time in their classification, than, under the circumstances in which this pamphlet was prepared, we were able to give the subject. We have obtained, however, an account of the number of persons committed at the New Bailey Court House, Salford, for the different offences under which their commit-

¹ 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' vol. v. p. 404.

² Works of Charles Lucas—also 'De la Justice de la Prévoyance'—and 'De la Mission de la Justice Humaine.'—Par M. Dupétiour.

ment is recorded. The amount of crime exhibited in this table results therefore from a much greater population than that contained in the township; the out-townships being also included, or a population of at least 240,000.

	1829.	1830.	1831.	Total.
Number of Felons	580	559	638	1777
Persons committed for want of sureties to keep the peace—non-payment of fines—neglect of family, &c.	819	960	996	2775
For want of sureties to appear at the Sessions	192	153	182	527
For disobeying orders in Bastardy	174	151	181	506
Rogues and Vagabonds	620	743	835	2198
				7713

We subjoin, in a note, a table extracted from a very valuable pamphlet published by Mr. Ridgway, entitled 'An Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population, and the Causes and Cures of the Evils therein existing,'¹ by which the reader may be enabled to form a more accurate opinion concerning the relative extent to which crime prevails in Manchester.

There is, however, a licentiousness capable of corrupting the whole body of society, like an insidious disease, which eludes observation, yet is equally fatal in its effects.

1827.				1827.			
Manufacturing Counties.	Population.	Crime.	Crime to Population, 1, to	Agricultural Counties.	Population.	Crime.	Crime to Population, 1, to
Cheshire . .	304,130	497	612	Berkshire . .	143,400	208	690
Lancashire .	1,226,600	2459	495	Essex . . .	319,400	451	706
Middlesex .	1,295,100	3381	353	Hertford . .	144,300	205	704
Northumberl.	220,500	96	2300	Kent . . .	468,900	632	742
Nottingham .	206,300	298	695	Hampshire .	314,000	341	920
Stafford . .	378,600	569	665	Westmoreld.	55,800	20	2790
Warwick . .	310,500	602	515	Wiltshire . .	245,000	365	671
York . . .	1,321,500	1223	1080	Devonshire .	484,300	432	1121
Average				1043			

Criminal acts may be statistically classed—the victims of the law may be enumerated—but the number of those affected with the moral leprosy of vice cannot be exhibited with mathematical precision. Sensuality has no record¹, and the relaxation of social obligations may co-exist with a half dormant, half restless impulse to rebel against all the preservative principles of society; yet these chaotic elements may long smoulder, accompanied only by partial eruptions of turbulence or crime.

In the absence of direct evidence, we are unwilling that any statements should rest on our personal testimony; but we again refer with confidence to that of an intelligent and impartial observer.²

One other characteristic of the social body, in its present constitution, appears to us too remarkable and important to be entirely overlooked.

Religion is the most distinguished and ennobling feature of civil communities. Natural attributes of the human mind appear to ensure the culture of some form of worship; and as society rises through its successive stages, these forms are progressively developed, from the grossest observances of superstition, until the truths and dictates of revelation assert their rightful supremacy.

The absence of religious feeling, the neglect of all religious ordinances, afford substantive evidence of so great a moral degradation of the community, as to ensure a concomitant civic debasement. The social body cannot be constructed like a machine, on abstract principles which merely include physical motions, and their numerical results in the production of wealth. The mutual relation of men is not merely dynamical, nor can the composition of their forces be subjected to a purely mathematical calculation. Political economy, though its object be to

¹ No record exists by which the number of illegitimate births can be ascertained. Even this evidence would form a very imperfect rule by which to judge of the comparative prevalence of sensuality.

² 'Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population.' p. 24.—Ridgway.

ascertain the means of increasing the wealth of nations, cannot accomplish its design, without at the same time regarding their happiness, and as its largest ingredient the cultivation of religion and morality.

With unfeigned regret, we are therefore constrained to add, that the standard of morality is exceedingly debased, and that religious observances are neglected amongst the operative population of Manchester. The bonds of domestic sympathy are too generally relaxed; and as a consequence, the filial and paternal duties are uncultivated. The artisan has not time to cherish these feelings, by the familiar and grateful arts which are their constant food, and without which nourishment they perish. An apathy benumbs his spirit. Too frequently the father, enjoying perfect health and with ample opportunities of employment, is supported in idleness on the earnings of his oppressed children; and on the other hand, when age and decrepitude cripple the energies of the parents, their adult children abandon them to the scanty maintenance derived from parochial relief.

That religious observances are exceedingly neglected, we have had constant opportunities of ascertaining, in the performance of our duty as Physician to the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, which frequently conducted us to the houses of the poor on Sunday. With rare exceptions, the adults of the vast population of 84,147 contained in Districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, spend Sunday either in supine sloth, in sensuality, or in listless inactivity. A certain portion only of the labouring classes enjoys even healthful recreation on that day, and a very small number frequent the places of worship.

The fruits of external prosperity may speedily be blighted by the absence of internal virtue. With pure religion and undefiled, flourish frugality, forethought, and industry—the social charities which are the links of kindred, neighbours, and societies—and the amenities of life, which banish the jealous suspicion with which one order regards another. In vain may the intellect of man be

tortured to devise expedients by which the supply of the necessities of life may undergo an increase, equivalent to that of population, if the moral check be overthrown. Crime, diseases, pestilence, intestine discord, famine, or foreign war—those agencies which repress the rank overgrowth of a meagre and reckless race—will, by a natural law, desolate a people devoid of prudence and principle, whose numbers constantly press on the limits of the means of subsistence. We therefore regard with alarm the state of those vast masses of our operative population which are acted upon by all other incentives, rather than those of virtue; and are visited by the emissaries of every faction, rather than by the ministers of an ennobling faith.

The present means or methods of religious instruction are, in the circumstances in which our large towns are placed, most evidently inadequate to their end. The labours of some few devoted men—of whom the world is not worthy—in the houses of the poor, are utterly insufficient to produce a deep and permanent moral impression on the people. Some of our laws, as now administered, encourage indigence and vice, and hence arises an increased necessity for the daily exertions of the teachers of religion, to stem that flood of prevailing immorality which threatens to overthrow the best means that political sagacity can devise for the elevation of the people.

The exertions of Dr. Tuckerman, of Boston, in establishing 'a ministry for the poor' have been, until very recently, rather the theme of general and deserved praise, than productive of laudable imitation. This ministration is effected, chiefly by a visitation of the houses of the poor, and he proposes as its objects, religious instruction, uninfluenced by sectarian spirit or opinions:—the relief of the most pressing necessities of the poor—first by a well-regulated charity, and secondarily, by instruction in domestic economy—exhortations to industry—admonition concerning the consequences of vice, and by obtaining work for the deserving and unemployed. The minis-

ter should also encourage the education of the children, should prove the friend of the poor in periods of perplexity, and, when the labourer is subdued by sickness, should breathe into his ear the maxims of virtue, and the truths of religion. He might also act as a medium of communication and a link of sympathy, between the higher and lower classes of society. He might become the almoner of the rich, and thus daily sow the seeds of a kindlier relationship than that which now subsists between the wealthy and the destitute. He might also serve as a faithful reporter of the secret miseries which are suffered in the abodes of poverty, unobserved by those to whom he may come to advocate the cause of the abandoned. The prevalence of the principles and the practice of the precepts of Christianity, we may hope, will thus ultimately be made to bind together the now incoherent elements of society.

The success of Dr. Tuckerman's labours in Boston had, before the commencement of a similar plan in Manchester, given rise to several societies for the Christian instruction of the people in the Metropolis, and in other parts of the kingdom. Six such societies are now in operation in Manchester and its out-townships—five amongst the Independent, and one amongst the Unitarian Dissenters. The objects proposed by these associations, and the means by which these objects are prosecuted, may be estimated by the perusal of an extract from the report of that connected with the Mosley-street Independent Chapel, placed in the Appendix. But we regret to add that their number is utterly insufficient to affect the habits of more than a small portion of the population. The vast portions of the town included in the Ancoats, Newtown, and Portland districts, are utterly unoccupied by this beneficent system; and, when it is further observed, that in those districts reside the most indigent and immoral of our poor, it will be at once apparent what need there is of the immediate extension of the same powerful agency to them.

Having enumerated so many causes of physical depres-

sion, perhaps the most direct proof of the extent to which the effect co-exists in natural alliance with poverty, may be derived from the records of the medical charities of the town. During the year preceding July 1831—21,196 patients were treated at the Royal Infirmary—472 at the House of Recovery—3,163 at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, of which (subtracting one-sixth as belonging to the township of Ardwick) 2,636 were inhabitants of Manchester—perhaps 2,000 at the Workhouse Dispensary, and 1,500 at the Children's—making a total of 27,804, without including the Lock Hospital and the Eye Institution. 'If to this sum,' says Mr. Robertson, engaged in making a similar calculation, 'we were further to add the incomparably greater amount of all ranks visited or advised as private patients by the whole body (not a small one) of professional men; those prescribed for by chemists and druggists, scarcely of inferior pretension; and by herb doctors and quacks; those who swallow patent medicines; and lastly the subjects of that ever flourishing branch—domestic medicine; we should be compelled to admit that not fewer, perhaps, than three-fourths of the inhabitants of Manchester annually are, or fancy they are, under the necessity of submitting to medical treatment.'

Ingenious deductions, by Mr. Robertson, from facts contained in the records of the Lying-in Hospital of Manchester, prove, in a different manner, the extreme dependence of the poor on the charitable institutions of the town. The average annual number of births (deduced from a comparison of the last four years), attended by the officers of the Lying-in Charity, is 4,300; and the number of births to the population may be assumed as 1 in 28 inhabitants. This annual average of births, therefore, represents a population of 124,400, and assuming that of Manchester and the environs to be 230,000, more than

¹ 'Remarks on the Health of English Manufacturers, and on the need which exists for the Establishment of Convalescents' Retreats,' by J. Robertson.

one-half of its inhabitants are therefore either so destitute or so degraded, as to require the assistance of public charity in bringing their offspring into the world.

The children thus adopted by the public are often neglected by their parents. The early age at which girls are admitted into the factories prevents their acquiring much knowledge of domestic economy; and even supposing them to have had accidental opportunities of making this acquisition, the extent to which women are employed in the mills does not, even after marriage, permit the general application of its principles. The infant is the victim of the system; it has not lived long, ere it is abandoned to the care of a hireling or a neighbour, while its mother pursues her accustomed toil. Sometimes a little girl has the charge of the child, or even of two or three collected from neighbouring houses. Thus abandoned to one whose sympathies are not interested in its welfare, or whose time is too often also occupied in household drudgery, the child is ill fed, dirty, ill clothed, exposed to cold and neglect; and in consequence, more than one-half of the offspring of the poor (as may be proved by the bills of mortality of the town) die before they have completed their fifth year. The strongest survive; but the same causes which destroy the weakest impair the vigour of the more robust; and hence the children of our manufacturing population are proverbially pale and sallow, though not generally emaciated, nor the subjects of disease. We cannot subscribe to those exaggerated and unscientific accounts of the physical ailments to which they are liable, which have been lately revived with an eagerness and haste equally unfriendly to taste and truth; but we are convinced that the operation of these causes, continuing unchecked through successive generations, would tend to depress the health of the people; and that consequent physical ills would accumulate in an unhappy progression.

Before the age when, according to law, children can be admitted into the factories, they are permitted to run wild

in the streets and courts of the town, their parents often being engaged in labour and unable to instruct them. Five infant schools have been established in Manchester and the suburban townships, in which 600 children (a miserable portion of those who are of age to learn) receive instruction. 'In Britain and Ireland all sects and all parties approve of infant schools; in France those who are best qualified to form a judgment fully appreciate their value, and public tranquillity is alone wanted to secure the universal adoption of them in that country: in Geneva they are received so zealously as to have become improved by the systematic addition of gardens, in which the children pass more hours than in the school-room; in North America they are gaining ground with the rapidity and steadiness with which everything prospers in the United States: and the republicans of the West, abandoning a deeply rooted and barbarous prejudice, are in some places even providing infant schools for their young slaves. At the Cape of Good Hope the just union of the white and coloured races is begun, not more by the newly imparted equality of rights, than by these establishments being opened in common to the offspring of both; they are in like manner begun to be offered to all classes without invidious distinction in India; and in the *Ultima Thule* of civilisation, New South Wales, the innocent children of both the convict and the free are, in some measure, rescued by infant schools from abominations which affect the young, in a manner to which our distance from the scene renders us careless.'¹ The importance of this system, to our large manufacturing towns, is such that we hope funds will be speedily granted by government, so that it may be extended, until all the children of the poor are rescued from ignorance, and from the effects of that bad example, to which they are now subjected in the crowded lanes of our cities.

With a general system of education, we hope will also

¹ 'Westminster Review,' No. xxxiv.

he introduced institutions, in which the young females of the poor may be instructed in domestic economy, and where those pernicious traditional prejudices, which, combined with neglect, occasion the great mortality of their children, may be removed, and they may receive wholesome advice concerning their duties as wives and mothers. ✓

We have avoided alluding to evidence which is founded on general opinion, or depends merely on matters of perception; and have chiefly availed ourselves of such as admitted of a statistical classification. We may, however, be permitted to add, that our own experience, confirmed by that of those members of our profession on whose judgment we can rely with the greatest confidence, induces us to conclude, that diseases assume a lower and more chronic type in Manchester than in smaller towns and in agricultural districts; and a residence in the Hospitals of Edinburgh, and practice in its Dispensaries amongst the most debased part of its inhabitants, enables us to affirm, with confidence, that the diseases occurring here admit of less active antiphlogistic or depletory treatment than those incident to the degraded population of the old town of that city.

Frequent allusion has been made to the supposed rate of mortality in Manchester, as a standard by which the health of the manufacturing population may be ascertained. From the mortality of towns, however, their comparative health cannot be invariably deduced. There is a state of physical depression which does not terminate in fatal organic changes, which, however, converts existence into a prolonged disease, and is not only compatible with life, but is proverbially protracted to an advanced age.

The difficulty of obtaining returns of burials, from all the places of interment, in the town and suburbs of Manchester, prevented the estimation of the rate of mortality, when the former edition of this pamphlet was published. Since that period a Parliamentary paper has been pub-

lished (No. 729) containing a return of the number of burials occurring annually in Manchester, from 1821 to 1830; and the Board of Health have obtained returns for the last four years, which are confirmatory of this Parliamentary document. We have, from these returns and the census, constructed a table, showing the mortality of every year from 1821 to 1831, inclusive.

The population, by the census of the townships of Ardwick, Broughton, Cheetham Hill, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Hulme, Manchester, and Salford, in 1811 was 108,993 :— in 1821, it was 152,683 :— and in 1831, 224,143 ; or the increase in the first of these periods was to that of the latter, nearly as 44 parts of 115 are to 71 parts of the same number. Hence, supposing the sources of increase from births and immigration to remain nearly the same in the intermediate periods, we obtain a rule to distribute the increase of population between 1821 and 1831. Dividing this period into two equal parts, the rate of increase during the first five years would be 44 of 115 equal parts of the whole increase, or in 1826 the population would be $152,683 + 27,369$ ($\frac{44}{115}$ of the whole increase) $= 180,052$ which $+ 44,091$ ($\frac{71}{115}$, which ratio is assumed to occur during the second five years) $= 224,143$, the population of the town in 1831. These sums being again distributed by the same rule to half of the first and second cycles of five years, and the products thus obtained divided by five, a tolerably accurate approximation to the half-yearly increase of the population is obtained. By this rule, the following Table of the annual rate of mortality was constructed.

Some error appears to have occurred in the returns of interments for the first two years; therefore omitting them, the mean annual rate of interments acting as a divisor on the mean numbers of the population from 1823 to 1831 inclusive, will give an approximation to the mean rate of mortality, or $188,666 \div 5356 = 35.22$, the mean rate of the annual mortality of Manchester.

Diseases, we have said, assume in this town a compara-

Year.	Interments of Churchmen.	Interments of Dissenters.	Total of Interments.	Population.	Rate of Mortality.*
1821	1561	1726	3287	152,683	46.45
1822	1285	1044	2329	156,663	67.223
1823	1585	3230	4815	160,664	33.36
1824	1428	3219	4647	166,117	35.74
1825	1398	3530	4928	173,083	35.12
1826	1548	3804	5352	180,052	33.64
1827	1604	3235	4839	186,462	38.83
1828	1616	4106	5721	192,874	33.73
1829	1479	3719	5198	201,691	38.80
1830	1590	4383	5973	212,913	35.64
1831			6736	224,143	33.27

tively chronic type; and a general prevalence of such *maladies* is compatible even with a *low* rate of mortality. Acute diseases (which are eminently fatal) prevail, on the contrary, in a population where the standard of health is high, and attack the most robust and plethoric. Thus, a high rate of mortality may often be observed in a community, where the number of persons affected with disease is small; and on the other hand, general physical depression may concur with the prevalence of chronic *maladies*, and yet be unattended with a great proportion of deaths. We have elsewhere discussed the origin, and shown the great prevalence of dyspepsia, gastralgia¹, enteralgia, and chronic bronchitis and phthisis², in Manchester; and this reference to the subject may therefore be sufficient here.

The preceding statements must, we fear, be received as valid evidence that many sources of physical depression exist in Manchester. The Special Board of Health, in the course of their inquiries, discovered that they possessed very limited means of removing the evils whose existence was ascertained by the reports of the District Inspectors. Some thousands of houses were whitewashed. Several additional gangs of scavengers were employed; and the result of their operations was evident in the im-

¹ Second Number of the 'North of England Medical and Surgical Journal:' On Gastralgia and Enteralgia.

² Third Number of the 'North of England Medical and Surgical Journal.'

proved condition of the public thoroughfares of the town : but to repair and sewer the unpaved streets, courts, &c., and to remove the gross accumulations of filth which they contain, would have entailed upon the town an expenditure for which the fiscal authorities were unwilling to become responsible. Letters were also addressed to the landlords of all houses reported to be out of repair, and of those in which the soughs required repair — which were damp — ill ventilated — or which had no privies, informing them of the defects reported, and requesting them to assist the Special Board in their efforts to ameliorate the physical condition of the poor, by remedying these evils. The disease of the body politic is not superficial, and cannot be cured, or even temporarily relieved, by any specific: its sources are unfortunately remote, and the measures necessary to the removal of its disorders include serious questions on which great difference of opinion prevails.

Visiting Manchester, the Metropolis of the commercial system, a stranger regards with wonder the ingenuity and comprehensive capacity, which, in the short space of half a century, have here established the staple manufacture of this kingdom. He beholds with astonishment the establishments of its merchants — monuments of fertile genius and successful design :— the masses of capital which have been accumulated by those who crowd upon its mart, and the restless but sagacious spirit which has made every part of the known world the scene of their enterprise. The sudden creation of the mighty system of commercial organisation which covers this county, and stretches its arms to the most distant seas, attests the power and the dignity of man. Commerce, it appears to such a spectator, here gathers in her storehouses the productions of every clime, that she may minister to the happiness of a favoured race.

When he turns from the great capitalists, he contemplates the fearful strength only of that multitude of the

labouring population, which lies like a slumbering giant at their feet. He has heard of the turbulent riots of the people—of machine breaking—of the secret and sullen organisation which has suddenly lit the torch of incendiarism, or well nigh uplifted the arm of rebellion in the land. He remembers that political desperadoes have ever loved to tempt this population to the hazards of the swindling game of revolution, and have scarcely failed. In the midst of so much opulence, however, he has disbelieved the cry of need.

Believing that the natural tendency of unrestricted commerce (unchecked by the prevailing want of education, and the incentives afforded by imperfect laws to improvidence and vice), is to develop the energies of society, to increase the comforts and luxuries of life, and to *elevate the physical condition* of every member of the *social body*, we have exposed, with a faithful, though a friendly hand, the condition of the lower orders connected with the manufactures of this town, because we conceive that the evils affecting them result *from foreign and accidental causes*. A system, which promotes the advance of civilisation, and diffuses it over the world—which promises to maintain the peace of nations, by establishing a permanent international law, founded on the benefits of commercial association, cannot be inconsistent with the happiness of the *great mass of the people*. There are men who believe that the labouring classes are condemned for ever, by an inexorable fate, to the unmitigated curse of toil, scarcely rewarded by the bare necessities of existence, and often visited by the horrors of hunger and disease—that the heritage of ignorance, labour, and misery, is entailed upon them as an eternal doom. Such an opinion might appear to receive a gloomy confirmation, were we content with the evidence of fact, derived only from the history of uncivilised races, and of feudal institutions. No modern Rousseau now rhapsodises on the happiness of the state of nature. Moral and physical degradation are inseparable from barbarism. The unsheltered, naked savage,

starving on food common to the denizens of the wilderness, never knew the comforts contained in the most wretched cabin of our poor.

Civilisation, to which feudality is inimical, but which is most powerfully promoted by commerce, surrounds man with innumerable inventions. It has thus a constant tendency to multiply, without limit, the comforts of existence, and that by an amount of labour, at all times undergoing an indefinite diminution. It continually expands the sphere of his relations, from a dependence on his own limited resources, until it has combined into one mighty league, alike the members of communities, and the powers of the most distant regions. The cultivation of the faculties, the extension of knowledge, the improvement of the arts, enable man to extend his dominion over matter, and to minister, not merely to all the exigencies, but to the capricious tastes and the imaginary appetites of his nature. When, therefore, every zone has contributed its most precious stores—science has revealed her secret laws—genius has applied the mightiest powers of nature to familiar use, making matter the patient and silent slave of the will of man—if want prey upon the heart of the people, we may strongly presume that, besides the effects of existing manners, some accidental barrier exists, arresting their natural and rightful supply.

The evils affecting the working classes, *so far from being the necessary results of the commercial system, furnish evidence of a disease which impairs its energies, if it does not threaten its vitality.*

The increase of the manufacturing establishments, and the consequent colonisation of the district, have been exceedingly more rapid than the growth of its civic institutions. The eager antagonisation of commercial enterprise has absorbed the attention, and concentrated the energies, of every member of the community. In this strife the remote influence of arrangements has sometimes been neglected, not from the want of humanity, but from the pressure of occupation, and the deficiency of time.

Thus, some years ago, the internal arrangements of mills (now so much improved) as regarded temperature, ventilation, cleanliness, and the proper separation of the sexes, &c., were such as to be extremely objectionable. The same cause has, we think, chiefly occasioned the want of police regulations, to prevent the gross neglect of the streets and houses of the poor.

The great and sudden fluctuations to which trade is liable, are often the sources of severe embarrassment. Sometimes the demand for labour diminishes, and its price consequently falls in a corresponding ratio. On the other hand, the existing population has often been totally inadequate to the required production; and capitalists have eagerly invited a supply of labour from distant counties and the sister kingdom. The colonisation of the Irish was thus first encouraged; and has proved one chief source of the demoralisation, and consequent physical depression of the people. [1832]

• • The effects of this immigration, even when regarded as a simple economical question, do not merely include an equation of the comparative cheapness of labour; its influence on civilisation and morals, as *they tend to affect the production of wealth*, cannot be neglected.

In proof of this, it may suffice to present a picture of the natural progress of barbarous habits. Want of cleanliness, of forethought and economy, are found in almost invariable alliance with dissipation, reckless habits, and disease. The population gradually becomes physically less efficient as the producers of wealth—morally so from idleness—politically *worthless* as having few desires to satisfy, and *noxious* as dissipators of capital accumulated. Were such manners to prevail, the horrors of pauperism would accumulate. A debilitated race would be rapidly multiplied. Morality would afford no check to the increase of the population: crime and disease would be its only obstacles—the licentiousness which indulges its capricious appetite, till it exhausts its power—and the disease which, at the same moment, punishes crime, and

sweeps away a hecatomb of its victims. A dense mass, impotent alike of great moral or physical efforts, would accumulate; children would be born to parents incapable of obtaining the necessaries of life, who would thus acquire, through the mistaken humanity of the law, a new claim for support from the property of the public. They would drag on an unhappy existence, vibrating between the pangs of hunger and the delirium of dissipation — alternately exhausted by severe and oppressive toil, or enervated by supine sloth. Destitution would now prey on their strength, and then the short madness of debauchery would consummate its ruin. Crime, which banishes or destroys its victims, and disease and death, are severe but brief natural remedies, which prevent the unlimited accumulation of the horrors of pauperism. Even war and pestilence, when regarded as affecting a population thus demoralised, and politically and physically debased, seem like storms which sweep from the atmosphere the noxious vapours whose stagnation threatens man with death. . . .

Morality is therefore worthy of the attention of the economist, even when considered as simply ministering to the production of wealth. Civilisation creates artificial wants, introduces economy, and cultivates the moral and physical capabilities of society. Hence the introduction of an uncivilised race does not tend even primarily to increase the power of producing wealth, in a ratio by any means commensurate with the cheapness of its labour, and may ultimately retard the increase of the fund for the maintenance of that labour. Such a race is useful only as a mass of animal organisation, which consumes the smallest amount of wages. The low price of the labour of such people depends, however, on the paucity of their wants, and their savage habits. When they assist the production of wealth, therefore, their barbarous habits and consequent moral depression must form a part of the equation. They are only necessary to a state of commerce *inconsistent* with such a reward for labour as is calculated to maintain the standard of civilisation. A few years

! a great gain
Number

pass, and they become burdens to a community whose morals and physical power they have depressed; and dissipate wealth which they did not accumulate.

Conscious of the evils resulting from the immigration of Irish, we nevertheless tremble at the thought of applying unmodified poor-laws to Ireland. In England the system of parochial relief has a most prejudicial influence, in chaining redundant labour to a narrow locality, and thus aggravating the pressure of partial ills, and in relaxing those bonds of the social constitution, industry, forethought, and charity.¹ Much less could the habits of the Irish be corrected by a parliamentary enactment: and to attempt the removal of their misery, by a constant supply of their wants, would be to offer direct encouragement to idleness, improvidence, and dissipation. It would ultimately render every individual dependent on the State, and change Ireland into a vast infirmary, divided into as many wards as there are parishes, whose endowment would swallow up the entire rental of the country. Such a measure, says Mr. Senior, would² 'divide Ireland into as many distinct counties as there are parishes, each peopled by a population *ascripta glebæ*; multiplying without forethought; impelled to labour principally by the fear of punishment; drawing allowance for their children, and throwing their parents on the parish; considering wages not a matter of contract but of right; attributing every evil to the injustice of their superiors; and, when their own idleness or improvidence has occasioned a fall of wages, avenging it by firing the dwellings, maiming the cattle, or murdering the persons of the landlords and overseers; combining, in short, the insubordination of the free-man with the sloth and recklessness of the slave.'

We believe, however, that an impost on the rental of Ireland might be applied with advantage in employing its

¹ Chalmers's 'Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns:' 'Speech before the General Assembly:' 'Political Economy,' p. 308, &c., &c.

² 'Letter to Lord Howick on a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor,' &c., &c. p. 33.

redundant labour in great public works—such as draining bogs, making public roads, canals, harbours, &c., by which the entire available capital of the country would be increased, and the people would be trained in industrious habits, and more civilised manners. England would then cease to be, to the same extent as at present, the receptacle of the most demoralised and worthless hordes of the sister country.

The Irish, who were invited to colonise the country at a period when the demand for labour was greater than the native population could supply, have suffered more than any other class from the introduction of the powerloom. The state of transition in employment consequent on a new invention (by which the powers of production are increased, its cost diminished, and the demand for a peculiar kind of labour almost extinguished), will always be followed by an embarrassment, whose pressure and duration will be determined, *cæteris paribus*, by the extent of the market for manufactures. If by the want of commercial treaties—by the imposition of injudicious duties on foreign produce, which provoke jealous retaliation—the existence of arbitrary restrictions and monopolies, the extent of the market for manufactures be diminished, the demand for labour will be confined within the same limits. A new invention will thus be robbed of half its rewards, since we deprive other nations of the power of buying our manufactures, by refusing to accept what they offer in exchange. We depress the spirit of their enterprise; and we discourage our own. The relations of commerce are those of unlimited reciprocity—not of narrow and bigoted exclusion. We encourage genius and industry in proportion as we permit them to receive their reward in the riches of every clime. We dam up not only the well-spring of our own wealth and happiness, but of that of other nations, when we refuse to barter the results of the ingenuity and perseverance of our artisans, for the products of the bounty of other climates, or the arts and genius of other people. Unrestricted commerce, on the

other hand, would rapidly promote the advance of civilisation, by cultivating the physical and mental power of individuals and nations to multiply the amount of natural products, and to create those artificial staple commodities, by the barter of which they acquire the riches of other regions. Every new invention in agriculture or manufactures — every improvement in the powers of transmission, would enable its possessors, by the same amount of labour, to obtain a greater quantity of foreign products in exchange. The labour of man would be constantly, to an indefinite extent, diminished¹, whilst its reward would be, at the same time, perpetually increased. Human power would be employed 'in its noblest occupation, that of giving a direction to the mere physical power which it had conquered.'²

But, under a restrictive system, the demand for the results of labour is limited, not by the wants of the whole world, but of the market from which commodities are received in exchange. Even then, as civilisation multiplies the desires, and stimulates the industry and ingenuity of man, the quantity of products permitted to be bartered for our manufactures has a constant tendency to increase. Unfortunately, however, the restrictions which fetter commerce are so numerous, and the monopolies which exclude free trade from the fairest portions of the earth are so extensive, as to render the progressive increase in the demand for the results of our labour and capital slow. Population, nevertheless, increases the supply of labour in at least as great a ratio as the demand existing under a restrictive system. Every invention, therefore, which diminishes the quantity of labour necessary to produce the objects of barter, lessens its price, and excludes, for an indefinite period, a great part of the population from

¹ 'Observations on the Influence of Machinery upon the Working Classes of the Community,' by John Kennedy, Esq. : 'Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester,' vol. v. second series. Also, 'The Economy of Machinery and Manufactures,' by Charles Babbage, Esq.

² 'Results of Machinery,' p. 103.

employment. By this system the profits of capital are increased, though not in the same ratio as the wages of labour are for a time diminished. But, were the restrictions abolished, each new invention would not only enable man to purchase, by a smaller amount of labour, a larger portion of foreign products, but would, by these means, powerfully stimulate the genius and industry of other nations, whose demand for our manufactures would increase in a ratio at least equal to their accumulation. In other words, improvements in machinery *diminish the cost of production*; but if the demand for manufactures be limited by arbitrary enactments, *the increased employment* which would also be their natural and inevitable result, *is prevented*, until commerce is able, in some other way, to compensate for the evils of injudicious legislation. We have *capital and labour*—but to obtain the greatest amount of commercial advantages, we must also have an *unlimited power of exchange*.

We believe, therefore, that chiefly to *this cause* must be attributed the combined misery of severe labour and want entailed on that wretched but extensive class, the hand-loom weavers of the cotton trade.

Were an unlimited exchange permitted to commerce, the hours of labour might be reduced, and time afforded for the education and religious and moral instruction of the people. With a virtuous population, engaged in free trade, the existence of redundant labour would be an evil of brief duration, rarely experienced. The unpopular, but alas, too necessary proposals of emigration would no longer be agitated. Ingenuity and industry would draw from the whole world a tribute more than adequate to supply the ever-increasing demands of a civilised nation.

The duties imposed on the introduction of foreign corn were originally intended, by raising the price of grain, to act as a compensation to the landowner for the supposed unequal pressure of taxation upon him. This inequality of the public burdens has, however, been exceedingly exaggerated, and those taxes, which are said to be derived

from land on which corn is grown, are also procured from many other descriptions of property which are not protected. The faults of our present financial system¹ are so numerous, that if the principle of relieving the inequality of the pressure of taxation be admitted, we must pay back in bounties one third of what is obtained by taxes. The scarcity and dearness of food certainly bring to the agricultural population no benefit, after the brief demand for labour necessary to bring fresh soils into cultivation is past. The landowner alone receives any advantage from the high price of food, and that much less than has generally been supposed. The fluctuating scale by which the duties on corn are at present regulated, has produced the most disastrous effects among the agricultural tenantry: rents have been paid out of capital, and estates have been injured, in consequence of the embarrassments of the cultivators. A tax on the staple commodity of life enhances the price of all other food, by increasing the wages of labour, and the rent of land; and, as it enters as an element into the cost of every article produced (and that in a ratio constantly accumulating with the amount of labour employed), it presses heavily, though indirectly, on the superior classes, and upon all other consumers. Not the least injurious effects of the present Corn-law are the burden of supporting an unemployed population, which it entails on society at large, and the insecurity of property which results from the near approach to destitution of a large portion of its members. But since this system simultaneously contracts the market of the capitalist (by excluding one most important object of barter), and increases the cost of production, its direct effects are felt in the manufacturing districts, which have long been maintaining an unequal struggle with foreign competitors. In the cotton trade, to the expense of importing the raw material, and that chiefly from one of those countries where bounties on manufactures exist, is added the press-

¹ Sir H. Parnell, on Financial Reform.

ure of one tax, on the raw material, and of another, which, by raising the price of labour, increases that of the manufactured result. Industry, invention, the most subtle sagacity, and the most daring enterprise appear at length almost baffled by the difficulties they encounter. The profits of capital are reduced to the most meagre attenuation—the rapidity of production, of transmission and return, appear to have reached their utmost limit. Injudicious duties on foreign produce have provoked retaliation, and the manufactures of other countries are supported by artificial expedients in rivalry with our own. The difficulty of changing the system is every day increased, until, ere long, it may become a serious question with other countries, whether the advantages to be derived from free trade can compensate for the sacrifice of the capital embarked in their commercial establishments. The cotton manufacture is rapidly spreading all over the continent, and particularly in Switzerland and France; and America threatens us with a more formidable competition.

Under these circumstances, every part of the system appears necessary to the preservation of the whole. The profits of trade will not allow a greater remuneration for labour, and competition even threatens to reduce its price. *Whatever time is subtracted from the hours of labour¹ must be accompanied with an equivalent deduction from its rewards*; the restrictions of trade prevent other improvements, and we fear that the condition of the working

¹ The effect of such a measure is thus correctly described in an able and perspicuous pamphlet lately published, entitled, 'A Letter to Lord Althorp, in Defence of the Cotton Factories of Lancashire,' by Holland Hoole.

'If Mr. Sadler's bill becomes a law, the masters will have the choice of two evils. Either they must reduce the hours of labour to the limit proposed to be fixed for children (fifty-eight hours per week) or they must place their establishments without the pale of this enactment, by discharging all persons under eighteen years from their factories.'

'In the former case a reduction of the wages of all persons employed, whether children or adults, corresponding with the reduction of the time of labour must inevitably take place.' 'Not a few of the master cotton spinners have determined to adopt the other course above mentioned, namely, to discharge from their employment all the hands under eighteen years of age, as soon as the proposed law comes into operation.'

classes cannot be much improved, until the burdens and restrictions of the commercial system are abolished.

We will yield to none in an earnest and unqualified opposition to the present restrictions and burdens of commerce, and chiefly because they lessen the wages of the lower classes, increase the price of food, and prevent the reduction of the hours of labour:—because they will retard the application of a general and efficient system of education, and thus not merely depress the health, but debase the morals of the poor. Those politicians who propose a serious reduction of the hours of labour, unprecedented by the relief of commercial burdens, seem not to believe that this measure would inevitably depress the wages of the poor, whilst the price of the necessities of life would continue the same. They appear, also, not to have sufficiently reflected that, if this measure *were unaccompanied by a general system of education*, the time thus bestowed would be wasted or misused. If this depression of wages, coincident with an increase of the time generally spent by an uneducated people in sloth or dissipation, be carefully reflected upon, the advocates of this measure will, perhaps, be less disposed to regard it as one calculated to confer unqualified benefits on the labouring classes. To retrace the upward path from evil and misery is difficult. Health is only acquired after disease, by passing through slow and painful stages. Neither can the evils which affect the operative population be instantly relieved by the exhibition of any single notable remedy.

Men are, it must be confessed, too apt to regard with suspicion those who differ from them in opinion, and rancorous animosity is thus engendered between those whose motives are pure, and between whose opinions only shades of difference exist. We believe that no objection to a reduction of the hours of labour would exist amongst the enlightened capitalists of the cotton trade, if the difficulty of maintaining, under the present restrictions, the commercial position of the country did not forbid it.

Were these restrictions abolished, they would cease to fear the competition of their foreign rivals, and the working classes of the community would find them to be the warmest advocates of every measure which could conduce to the physical comfort, or moral elevation of the poor.

✓ A general and efficient system of education would be devised — a more intimate and cordial association would be cultivated between the capitalist and those in his employ — the poor would be instructed in habits of forethought and economy ; and, in combination with these great and general efforts to ameliorate their condition, when the restrictions of commerce had been abolished, a reduction in the hours of labour would tend to elevate the moral and physical condition of the people.

✓ We are desirous of adding a few observations on each of these measures. Ere the moral and physical condition of the operative population can be much elevated, a system of national education so extensive and liberal as to supply the wants of the whole labouring population must be introduced. Ignorance is twice a curse — first from its necessarily debasing effects, and then because rendering its victim insensible to his own fate, he endures it with supine apathy. The ignorant are, therefore, properly, the care of the state. Our present means of instruction are confined to Sunday Schools, and a few Lancasterian and National Schools, quite inadequate to the wants of the population. The absence of education is like that of cultivation, the mind untutored becomes a waste, in which prejudices and traditional errors grow as rankly as weeds. In this sphere of labour, as in every other, prudent and diligent culture is necessary to obtain genial products from the soil ; noxious agencies are abroad, and, while we refuse to sow the germs of truth and virtue, the winds of heaven bring the winged seeds of error and vice. Moreover, as education is delayed, a stubborn barrenness affects the faculties — want of exercise renders them inapt — he that has never been judiciously instructed, has not only to master the first elements of truth, and to unlearn error,

elements of strength and weakness are so commingled, as to ensure the dissolution of every cohesive principle, in that portion of society, which is thus not inaptly portrayed by the feet which were part of iron and part of clay.

The education afforded to the poor must be substantial. The mere elementary rudiments of knowledge are chiefly useful, as a means to an end. The poor man will not be made a much better member of society, by being only taught to read and write. His education should comprise such branches of general knowledge as would prove sources of rational amusement, and would thus elevate his tastes above a companionship in licentious pleasures. Those portions of the exact sciences which are connected with his occupation, should be familiarly explained to him, by popular lectures, and *cheap treatises*. To this end, Mechanics' Institutions (partly conducted by the artisans themselves, in order that the interest they feel in them may be constantly excited and maintained) should be multiplied by the patrons of education, among the poor. The ascertained truths of political science should be early taught to the labouring classes, and *correct* political information should be constantly and industriously disseminated amongst them. Were the taxes on periodical publications removed, men of great intelligence and virtue might be induced to conduct journals, established for the express purpose of directing to legitimate objects that restless activity by which the people are of late agitated. Such works, sanctioned by the names of men distinguished for their sagacity, spirit, and integrity, would command the attention and respect of the working classes. The poor might thus be also made to understand their political position in society, and the duties that belong to it — 'that' they are in a great measure the architects of their own fortune; that what others can do for them is trifling indeed, compared with what they can do for

¹ McCulloch, on the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the British Cotton Manufacture. 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 91.

themselves ; that they are infinitely more interested in the preservation of public tranquillity than any other class of society ; that mechanical inventions and discoveries are always supremely advantageous to them ; and that their real interests can only be effectually promoted, by displaying greater prudence and forethought.' They should be instructed in the nature of their domestic and social relations. The evils which imprudent marriages entail on those who contract them, on their unhappy offspring, and on society at large, should be exhibited in the strongest light. The consequence of idleness, improvidence, and moral deviations, should be made the subjects of daily admonition ; so that a young man might enter the world, not, as at present, without chart or compass, blown hither and thither by every gust of passion, but, with a knowledge of the dangers to which he is exposed, and of the way to escape them.

The relation between the capitalist and those in his employ, might prove a fruitful source of the most beneficial comments. The misery which the working classes have brought upon themselves, by their mistaken notions on this subject, is incalculable, not to mention the injury which has accrued to capitalists, and to the trade of this country.

Much good¹ would result from a more general and cordial association of the higher and lower orders. In Liverpool a charitable society exists denominated the 'Provident,' whose members include a great number of the most influential inhabitants. The town is subdivided into numerous districts, the inspection and care of each of which is committed to one or two members of the association. They visit the people in their houses — sympathise with their distresses, and minister to the wants of the necessitous ; but above all, they acquire by their charity, the right of inquiring into their arrangements —

¹ 'An Address to the Higher Classes on the present State of Feeling among the Working Classes.'

of instructing them in domestic economy — of recommending sobriety, cleanliness, forethought, and method.

Every capitalist might contribute much to the happiness of those in his employ, by a similar exercise of enlightened charity. He might establish provident associations and libraries amongst his people. Cleanliness, and a proper attention to clothing and diet¹ might be enforced. He has frequent opportunities of discouraging the vicious, and of admonishing the improvident. By visiting the houses of the operatives, he might advise the multiplication of household comforts and the culture of the domestic sympathies. Principle and interest admonish him to receive none into his employ, unless they can produce the most satisfactory attestations to their character.

Above all, he should provide instruction for the children of his workpeople: he should stimulate the appetite for useful knowledge, and supply it with appropriate food.

Happily, the effect of such a system is not left to conjecture. In large towns serious obstacles oppose its introduction; but in Manchester more than one enlightened capitalist confesses its importance, and has made preparations for its adoption. In the country, the facilities are greater; and many establishments might be indicated, which exhibit the results of combined benevolence and intelligence. One example may suffice.

Twelve hundred persons are employed in the factories of Mr. Thomas Ashton, of Hyde. This gentleman has erected commodious dwellings for his workpeople, with each of which he has connected every convenience that can minister to comfort. He resides in their immediate vicinity, and has frequent opportunities of maintaining a cordial association with his operatives. Their houses are well furnished, clean, and their tenants exhibit every indication of health and happiness. Mr. Ashton has also built a school, where 640 children, chiefly belonging to his establishment, are instructed on Sunday, in reading,

¹ 'True Theory of Rent,' by T. Perronet Thomson, Esq.

writing, arithmetic, &c. A library, connected with this school, is eagerly resorted to, and the people frequently read after the hours of labour have expired. An infant school is, during the week, attended by 280 children, and in the evenings others are instructed by masters selected for the purpose. The factories themselves are certainly excellent examples of the cleanliness and order which may be attained, by a systematic and persevering attention to the habits of the artisans.

The effects of such enlightened benevolence may be, to a certain extent, exhibited by statistical statements. The population, before the introduction of machinery, chiefly consisted of colliers, hatters, and weavers. Machinery was introduced in 1801, and the following table exhibits its consequences in the augmentation of the value of property, the diminution of poor rates, and the rapid increase of the amount assessed for the repairs of the highway, during a period, in which the population of the township increased from 830 to 7,138.

Township of Hyde, in the Parish of Stockport, in the County of Chester.

Year.	Estimated value of property assessable to the Poor's Rate.	Sums assessed for the Relief of the Poor.	Sums assessed for the Repairs of the Highway.	Population.	REMARKS.
	£ s.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
1801	693 10	533 12 0	2 11 6	830	Machinery introduced.
2	697 0	394 19 4	51 19 5		
3	697 0	336 8 0	52 3 0 ³		
4	697 10	325 10 0	52 5 9 ³		
5	724 0	385 17 4	100 6 11 ³		
6	786 0	339 6 0	110 12 11 ³		
7	829 0	276 6 8	172 7 9 ³		
8	898 10	223 1 4	177 6 10		
9	915 0	286 16 8	152 17 9		
1810	935 0	345 10 0	146 18 3 ³	1806	Riots, Machinery broken in various places. Power looms introduced.
1	945 10	417 6 4	199 19 3 ³		
2	975 15	471 8 4	168 11 1		
3	986 0	687 7 8	148 18 11 ³		
4	997 0	630 6 8	144 18 8 ³		
5	1029 15	508 18 0	99 9 3 ³		
6	1079 5	390 2 0	156 9 8 ³		
7	1109 15	502 3 6	150 2 8 ³		
8	1142 0	421 2 0	171 15 9		
9	1242 0	431 6 0	201 8 7 ³		
1820	1272 0	355 4 8	229 11 7	3335	New County Rate made: from this time the County Rate, together with the salary of the serving officer, average £200 per annum.
1	1371 15	274 7 0	265 1 1		
2	1429 5	435 10 6	440 12 0 ³		
3	1570 0	479 8 0	454 8 8 ³		
4	1792 0	348 17 0	506 2 2 ³		
5	1957 0	398 11 0	524 19 3 ³		
6	2093 10	438 7 6	573 10 7 ³		
7	2354 15	479 6 3	598 10 5		
8	2533 0	502 7 4	732 4 3 ³		
9	2623 0	790 11 9	681 19 6 ³		
1830	2727 0	549 16 0	578 10 1	7138	
1	2783 0	834 18 9	359 5 5 ³		
Total in 31 yrs. .		13,994 13 7	8405 19 7		
Average		451 10 0	271 7 2		

¹ A considerable balance in the Overseer's hands.

This table exhibits a cheering proof of the advantages which may be derived from the commercial system, under judicious management. We feel much confidence in inferring that where so little pauperism exists, the taint of vice has not deeply infected the population; and concerning their health we can speak from personal observation. The rate of mortality, from statements¹ with which Mr. Ashton has politely furnished us, appears to be exceedingly low. In thirteen years (during the first six of which, the number of rovers, spinners, piecers and dressers was 100, and during the last seven, above 200) only eight deaths occurred, though the same persons were, with rare exceptions, employed during the whole period. Supposing, for the sake of convenience, that the deaths were nine; then by ascribing three to the first six years, and six to the last seven, the mortality during the former period was 1 in 200, and during the latter, 1 in 233. The number of weavers during the first six years was 200,

¹ Minute of Deaths among the Spinners, Piecers and Dressers, employed at the works of Mr. Thomas Ashton, in Hyde, from 1819 to 1832, thirteen years, viz.: Spinners—Rd. Robinson, James Seville, David Cordingley, Eli Taylor. Piecers—Jas. Rowbotham, Wm. Green. Dressers—John Cocker, Samuel Broadhurst.

There are employed at these works 61 rovers and spinners, 120 piecers, and 38 dressers: total 219; among whom there are at this time 10 spinners, whose ages are respectively from forty up to fifty-six years; and among the dressers there are 12 whose ages are equal to that of the above spinners. We have no orphans at this place, neither have we any family receiving parochial relief; nor can we recollect the time when there was any such. The different clubs or sick lists among the spinners, dressers, overlookers and mechanics employed here, allow ten or twelve shillings per week to the members during sickness, and from six to eight pounds to a funeral; which applies also to the member's wife, and, in some cases, one half or one fourth to the funeral of a child. The greatest amount of contributions to these funds has in no one year exceeded five shillings and sixpence from each member.

The weavers (chiefly young women) have also a funeral club, the contributions to which are fourpence per member to each funeral. In the above period of thirteen years there have happened among them only forty funerals.

Total number of persons employed, twelve hundred, who maintained about two thousand.

JOSEPH TINKER, Book-keeper.

Hyde, 27th March, 1832.

and during the last seven 400 ; and in this body of workmen 40 deaths occurred in thirteen years. By ascribing 13 of these deaths to the first six years, and 27 to the last seven, the mortality, during the former period, was 1 in 92, and during the latter, 1 in 103.

These facts indicate that the present hours of labour do not injure the health of a population, *otherwise favourably situated*, but that, when evil results ensue, they must chiefly be ascribed to the combination of this *with other causes of moral and physical depression*.

Capitalists, whose establishments are situated in the country, enjoy many opportunities of controlling the habits and ministering to the comforts of those in their employ, which cannot exist in a large manufacturing town. In the former, the land in the vicinity is generally the property of the manufacturer, and upon this he may build commodious houses, and surround the operative with all the conveniences and attractions of a home. In the town, the land is often in the possession of non-resident proprietors, anxious only to obtain the largest amount of chief rent. It is therefore let in separate lots to avaricious speculators, who (unrestrained by any general enactment, or special police regulation) build without plan, wretched abodes in confused groups, intersected by narrow, unpaved or undrained streets and courts. By this disgraceful system the moral and physical condition of the poor undergoes an inevitable depression.

In Manchester ¹ 'it is much to be regretted that the surveyors of highways, or some other body of gentlemen specially appointed, were not, forty years ago, invested with authority to regulate the laying out of building-land within the precincts of the town, and to enforce the observance of certain conditions, on the part of the owners and lessees of such property.' Private rights ought not to be exercised so as to produce a public injury. The

¹ Dr. Lyon on the Medical Topography and Statistics of Manchester.—
'North of England Medical and Surgical Journal,' vol. i. p. 17.

law, which describes and punishes offences against the person and property of the subject, should extend its authority by establishing a social code, in which the rights of communities should be protected from the assaults of partial interests. By exercising its functions in the former case, it does not wantonly interfere with the liberty of the subject, nor in the latter, would it violate the reverence due to the sacred security of property.

The powers obtained by the recent changes in the Police Act of Manchester are retrospective, and exclusively refer to the removal of existing evils: their application must also necessarily be slow. We conceive that special police regulations should be framed for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of that gross neglect of decency and violation of order, whose effects we have described.

Streets should be built according to plans determined (after a conference with the owners) by a body of Commissioners, specially elected for the purpose—their width should bear a certain relation to the size and elevation of the houses erected. Landlords should be compelled, on the erection of any house, to provide sufficient means of drainage, and each to pave his respective area of the street. Each habitation should be provided with a due receptacle for every kind of refuse, and the owner should be obliged to whitewash the house, at least once every year. Inspectors of the state of houses should be appointed: and the repair of all those, reported to be in a state inconsistent with the health of the inhabitants, should be enforced at the expense of the landlords. If the rents of houses are not sufficient to remunerate the owners for this repair, their situation must in general be such, or their dilapidation so extreme, as to render them so undesirable to the comfort, or so prejudicial to the health of the tenants, that they ought no longer to be inhabited.

Sources of physical depression, arising from the neglect of these arrangements, abound to such an extent in Manchester, that it has been sagaciously suggested that some

powerful counteracting causes must also be in operation, or we should otherwise frequently be subjected to the visitation of fatal epidemic diseases. What all those causes may be it would perhaps be vain to speculate, but it might be demonstrated that the establishment of the House of Recovery has had a most salutary influence in checking the spread of typhus fever.

The associations of workmen, for protecting the price of labour, have too frequently been so directed, as to occasion increased distress to the operatives, embarrassment to the capitalist, and injury to the trade of the country, whereas, were they properly conducted, they might exercise a generally beneficial influence. No combination can permanently raise the wages of labour above the limit defined by the relation existing between population and capital; but partial monopolies, and individual examples of oppression might, by this means, be removed, and occasions exist, when, on the occurrence of a fresh demand, the natural advance of the price of labour might be hastened. So long, however, as these associations needlessly provoke animosity by the slander of private character, by vexatious and useless interference, and by exciting turbulence and alarm, many of their most legitimate purposes cannot be pursued. Distrust will then prevent masters and workmen from framing regulations for their mutual benefit, such as modes of determining the quantity or quality of work produced, and the collection of correct statistical information—or from combining in applications to government for improvements of the laws which affect commerce. Capitalists, fearing combination amongst their workmen, will conceal the true state of the demand, and thus at one period, the operative will be deprived of that reward of his labour, which he would otherwise obtain, and, at another, will receive no warning of the necessary reduction of manufacturing establishments; which change may thus occur at a period, when, having made no provision for it, he may be least able to encounter the privation of his ordinary means of support. The risks attending the

outlay of capital, the extension of the sphere of enterprise, and even the execution of contracts are, by the uncertainty thus introduced into circumstances affecting the supply of labour, exceedingly augmented. Larger stocks must be maintained, less confidence will attend commercial transactions, and an increase of price is necessary to cover these expenses and risks. 'If an establishment consist of several branches which can be only carried on jointly, as, for instance, of iron mines, blast furnaces, and a colliery, in which there are distinct classes of workmen, it becomes necessary to keep on hand a larger stock of materials than would otherwise be required, if it were certain that no combinations would arise. The proprietors of one establishment in the trade which has been mentioned, think it expedient always to keep above ground a supply of coal, for six months, which is in that instance equal in value to about £10,000.'

The efforts of these associations have not unfrequently occasioned the introduction of machinery into branches of labour, whence skill has been driven to undertake the severer and ill-rewarded occupation of ordinary toil. When machinery thus *suddenly* excludes skilled labour, much greater temporary distress is occasioned to the operative, than by the natural and gradual progress of mechanical improvements. By employing the power of these associations, at periods when an advance of wages has been impossible, or to resist a fall which the influence of natural causes rendered inevitable, the workmen have not only prevented the accumulation of the fund for the maintenance of labour, at a period when the advance of population was unchecked, but they have dissipated their own savings, as well as the monies of the union, in useless efforts, and, when pride and passion have combined to prolong the struggle, their furniture and clothes have been sold, and their family reduced to the extremes of misery.

¹ 'The Economy of Machinery and Manufactures,' by Chas. Babbage, Esq., p. 260.

The effects of these 'strikes' are frequently shared by unwilling sufferers, first, among those whose labour cannot be conducted independently of the body which has refused to work, and secondly, by those whose personal will is controlled by the threats or the actual violence of the rest. During the 'strike,' habits of idleness or dissipation are not unfrequently contracted—suspicion degenerates into hatred—and a wide gulf is created between the masters and the workmen. The kindlier feelings are extinguished, secret leagues are formed, property is destroyed, such of the operatives as do not join the combination, are daily assaulted, and at length licence mocks the law with the excesses of popular tumult.

It is impossible that the distrust, thus created, should not sometimes occasion the exclusion from the trade, of the entire body of workmen concerned, and the introduction of a new colony of operatives into the district. The labourers thus immigrating are not seldom an uncivilised and foreign race, so that, if ever the slightest tendency to cordial co-operation existed between the capitalist and the operative, that is now dissolved. The obstinacy with which this struggle with the manufacturer has sometimes been conducted has occasioned the removal of establishments to another district, or even to a foreign country, and these contests are always unfavourable to the introduction of fresh capital into the neighbourhood where they occur.

The more deserving and intelligent portions of the labouring class are often controlled by the greater boldness and activity of that portion which has least knowledge and virtue. Thus, we fear, that the power of the Co-operative Unions has been directed to mischievous objects, and the funds, the time, and energies of the operatives, have been wasted on unfeasible projects. Moreover, they who, as they are the weakest, ought to be, and generally are, the firmest advocates of liberty, have been misled into gross violations of the liberty of their fellow workmen. The power of these unions, to create disorder, or,

to attain improper objects, would be destroyed, if every assault were prosecuted, or the violation of the liberty of the subject prevented by the assiduous interference of an efficient police. The radical remedy for these evils is such an education as shall teach the people in what consists their true happiness, and how their interests may be best promoted.

The tendency to these excesses would be much diminished, did a cordial sympathy unite the higher with the lower classes of society. The intelligence of the former should be the fountain whence this should flow. If the *results* of labour be solely regarded, in the connection of the capitalist with those in his employ, the first step is taken towards treating them as a mere animal power necessary to the mechanical processes of manufacture. This is a heartless, if not a degrading association. The contract for the rewards of labour conducted on these principles issues in suspicion, if not in rancorous animosity.

The operative population constitutes one of the most important elements of society, and when numerically considered, the magnitude of its interests and the extent of its power assume such vast proportions, that the folly which neglects them is allied to madness. If the higher classes are unwilling to diffuse intelligence among the lower, those exist who are ever ready to take advantage of their ignorance; if they will not seek their confidence, others will excite their distrust; if they will not endeavour to promote domestic comfort, virtue, and knowledge among them, their misery, vice, and prejudice will prove volcanic elements, by whose explosive violence the structure of society may be destroyed. The principles developed in this Pamphlet, as they are connected with facts occurring within a limited sphere of observation, may be unwittingly supposed to have relation to that locality alone. The object of the author will, however, be grossly misunderstood, if it be conceived, that he is desirous of placing in invidious prominence defects which he may have observed in the social constitution of his own town.

He believes the evils here depicted to be incident, in a much larger degree, to many other great cities, and the means of cure here indicated to be equally capable of application there. His object is simply to offer to the public *an example* of what he conceives to be too generally the state of the working classes, throughout the kingdom, and to illustrate by *specific instances*, evils everywhere requiring the immediate interference of legislative authority.

APPENDIX No. I

TABLE No. 1, p. 28.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE STATE OF HOUSES.

District. No.

Name of Street, Court, &c.	No.	No.	Name of Street, Court, &c.	No.	No.
1. Is the House in good Repair?			12. Is a private privy attached to the house?.		
2. Is it clean?			13. Will the tenants assist in cleaning the streets and houses?		
3. Does it require Whitewashing?			14. Will they allow the Town's Authorities to whitewash them, if they cannot conveniently do it themselves?		
4. Are the rooms well ventilated, or can they be without change in windows, &c.?			15. Are the tenants generally healthy or not?.		
5. Is the house damp, or dry?			16. What is their occupation?		
6. Are the cellars inhabited?			17. Remarks concerning food, clothing, and fuel.		
7. Are these inhabited cellars damp or ever flooded?			18. Habits of life		
8. Are the soughs in a bad state?			19. General Observations		
9. Who is the proprietor?					
10. What number of families or lodgers does the house contain? . .					
11. What is the state of the beds, closets, and furniture?					

TABLE No. 2, P. 28.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE STATE OF STREETS, COURTS, ALLEYS, &c.				
District.	No.	Inspectors.		
Names of Streets, Courts, Alleys, &c.		Name.	Name.	Name.
Is the street, court, or alley narrow, and is it ill ventilated?				
Is it paved or not?				
If not, is it under the Police Act?				
Does it contain heaps of refuse, pools of stagnant fluid, or deep ruts?				
Are the public and private privies well situated, and properly attended to?				
Is the street, court, or alley, near a canal, river, brook, or marshy land?				
General Observations				

APPENDIX No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS OF CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION SOCIETIES. (*Note, page 67.*)*Mosley Street Christian Instruction Society.*

'Its members agreed to consider a certain section of the Town, adjacent to the Chapel, as the field of their labour, and to visit periodically all the abodes of the poor within the limits so marked out, for the purpose of conversing with the inmates on the great truths of the Gospel, lending them tracts and books on those momentous subjects, and inducing them to attend public worship, and to live themselves, and train up their children, as immortal beings. From that time to the present about forty individuals have followed out this undertaking within a district of which Market Street, Mosley Street, and Deansgate, on the South side, as far as Bootle Street, have constituted the boundaries. At the commencement of the present year, returns were made, from which the following facts were ascertained. The dwellings visited by the Society were about 350, containing nearly 600 families, which consisted of about 1800 resident members. In those families there were, children under ten years of age, 453; children sent to Day Schools, 149; children sent to Sunday Schools only, 240; children old enough for school but not sent, 93. There were, of families possessing Bibles, 327; of families in which the

adults did not regularly neglect public worship, only 150; of Catholic families, 60; of families the heads of which were avowed infidels, 5. To make the description of the Society's district answerable to the impressions of it on the minds of the visitors, there would have to be added, to these facts, details of drunkenness and sabbath-breaking, of vice and misery, of the complete negation of moral and religious sentiment, of flagrant vice, and shameless profligacy, of squalid poverty, of wasting sickness, and of hopeless death. When the visitors attained some extensive knowledge of the domestic circumstances and spiritual wants of the people whom they had taken under their charge, they became desirous to join, to their own agency, that of one who might give his whole time to such cases as were perpetually demanding more attention than they could possibly pay; cases of protracted illness, of approaching death, and of awakened inquiry, &c. For this office they selected a member of the church, Mr. Robinson, who has since devoted himself with the utmost diligence to the labours of his honourable, but arduous and extremely self-denying, vocation. Two preaching stations have been established; one in Queen Street, Deansgate, and one in Gee's Buildings, near Lloyd Street. Both are occupied on Sunday evening; Mr. Robinson being engaged at one place, while private members of the church most kindly and acceptably supply the other.'

London Christian Instruction Society.

'Its design is, irrespective of the particular denominations of Christians, to advance evangelical Religion amongst the inhabitants of the Metropolis and its Vicinity, by promoting the observance of the Sunday—the preaching of the Gospel—the establishment of Prayer Meetings and Sunday Schools—the circulation of Religious Tracts, accompanied with systematic visitation—and by the establishment of gratuitous Circulating Libraries—with every other legitimate method which the Committee may from time to time approve, for the accomplishment of the great object contemplated by the Society. To facilitate the operations of the Society, the Metropolis is divided, by the establishment of Associations, into districts, to each of which is appointed a Superintendent, with the approbation of the Committee, who presides over the proceedings of the Society in the District to which he belongs, and reports to the Committee, at their conference with the whole body of the Superintendents, the state of the District committed to his care. At the present time there are sixty-five Associations, which engage the benevolent attention of 1173 gratuitous visitors, who have, during the past year, visited 31,591 families, being an increase of 4677 families since the last report. So that, by this agency alone, religious tracts and books are now placed within the reach of at least 150,000 individuals. Through the benevolent efforts of the Visitors during 1830, 1260 cases of extreme distress were relieved, 617 copies of the Sacred Scriptures were brought into circulation, and 2303 children were sent to the various Sabbath Schools, and more than 1200 individuals were induced to attend public worship. Many zealous Visitors have included within their spheres of benevolence, the hospitals, workhouses, police stations, and manufactories, that are found in their respective neighbourhoods. Connected with the numerous Associations are ninety-three stations for reading the Scriptures, exhortation, and prayer. These meetings are usually held in the apartments of the poor, who appear gratified with the opportunity of showing their respect for the Visitors by lending their abodes for such a purpose. At various stations not less than 200 sermons were preached to congregations, varying from 100 to 1000 persons.'

Greenock City Mission.

'THIS Society is engaged, 1st, In visiting the lower classes in their own houses; 2nd, In collecting into one house individuals living in the same neighbourhood, for the purpose of reading and expounding the Scriptures; and 3rd, In an investigation into the state of the community generally. From this investigation, it appears that Greenock contains 6200 families, and 26,500 inhabitants, of whom 8360 are below 12 years of age: 4370 are betwixt 12 and 20: 13,970 are above 20 years. About 3000 children attend day schools, therefore there must be nearly 2000 betwixt 6 and 14 years of age, who do not attend school. It is not the business of the Directors to propose a remedy for this apparent neglect of education, but it certainly suggests the propriety of exertions being made, to have parish schools established in Greenock, being the *legal* means of affording cheap education to all classes. The number attending Sabbath evening schools is nearly 2000, and there being about 5000 youths in Greenock, betwixt 7 and 16 years of age, it follows that 3000 receive no Sabbath school instruction. And allowing liberally for those whose parents instruct them at home, a number will still remain sufficiently great to show the necessity of more vigorous efforts to afford the means of religious instruction to the young. As far as could be ascertained, there are 500 individuals, chiefly grown up, who cannot read. The Directors particularly call attention to the subject of church accommodation and church attendance, information in regard to which is next in order. The number of sittings said to be taken in churches is, 8950, being only at the rate of two-thirds of a sitting to each person above 20 years of age — of course, one third or 4621 persons above 20 years, have no sittings in any church, and there is no provision at all for those *below* 20. It must be allowed that in a Christian community, every individual above 12 or 14 years of age ought to have a sitting in church, so that 9000 in Greenock, above 14 years of age, are without sittings in any church. But, in fact, there is little more than church accommodation in town, for the number of sittings said to be taken, and several of the churches are not full; it follows therefore, that not nearly one-half of the population above 12 years, attend church on any one Sabbath!! About 3100 families state they belong to the Established Church, 1500 families are Dissenters, and 360 families are Catholics; nearly 1200 families could not distinctly tell to what Church they belonged!! Seven thousand two hundred persons are communicants, being only one-half of the population above 20 years of age! Surely such a statement as this needs no comment, and the Directors merely draw from it a pressing argument for increased exertions to support this Society, whose object is to attend to those at home, who either cannot or will not come to the house of God. It is remarkable that there are no fewer than 1450 widows who keep house, being betwixt a fourth and fifth of the whole number of householders. The number of paupers, or those who enjoy *regular* assistance from the parish funds, is about one thousand. It is unnecessary to state the number of families in want of Bibles, the Greenock Bible Society and Association having kindly offered to supply any deficiency of this kind.'

Glasgow City Mission.

'THE object of the Mission is "To promote the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its vicinity." It enacts that the Agents of the Society be chosen from all denominations of professing Christians: that they be men of approved piety, prudence, and zeal; and who, by their acquirements, especially in Divinity, may appear fitted for the duties of the agency: that the Agents occupy themselves, at least four hours daily, in the service of the Society,

excepting Saturday, which is allowed them for study; that they select such hours of call as will best suit the convenience of the people; and that no calls be made at the hour of dinner; that preaching stations be appointed in the districts visited by the Agents, to which the poor shall be invited: and that the co-operation of ordained ministers and preachers of the Gospel be solicited to maintain worship at the said stations, &c. Lastly, that no Agent be required to act contrary to the laws prescribed to him, by that body of Christians with which he is connected. Of the 20 Agents employed in 1828, 6 were members of the Church of Scotland; 10 seceders, of the various sects; 2 Independents; 1 a Reformed Presbyterian; and 1 a Baptist.

"The printed "Instructions to the Agents" are liberal and judicious; but they are too long to admit of being inserted. Every Agent has his own allotted district. He is required to keep a schedule, in which he enters the number of hours employed in the service of the Society, and the number of families visited each day. He is also required to keep a regular journal or diary for the inspection of the Directors. An idea of the work done by the Agents may be formed from the statement, that in the month of October, 1828, when only 16 Agents were in employment, *four thousand and seventy families* were visited in the ordinary course of visitation. *Two hundred and eighty-eight* sick and dying had special visits paid to them; 239 meetings were held, attended by as many as 2514 poor; chiefly of such a class as otherwise might not have heard the Gospel. The number of families, the subjects of regular visitation, in 1828, was about *twelve thousand*. These devoted Agents read and expound the Holy Scriptures to the poor, and converse with them on every topic connected with their own religious instruction, and that of their children. They supply them with books and tracts. They enlist their children as scholars in the various Sunday schools, which happily are to be found in every neighbourhood. In cases of extreme want and destitution, they are also often the means of obtaining pecuniary help, through the benevolence of opulent individuals, to whom they consider it a part of their duty to make such cases known.

TABLE of the number of Irish cases without Settlements, and of all cases that have obtained Settlements, and hence denominated English (whether English or Irish), which received Parochial Relief in the Township of Manchester, in the four winter months of the years 1827-8, 1828-9, 1829-30, 1830-31, and of the sums thus expended.

No. 1.	NEWTOWN.			ANCOTTS.			CENTRAL.			PORTLAND STREET.		
	No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		No. of Cases.	Amount paid.	
1827 and 1828. November.	English Irish	1416 204	£ 5 18 2	English Irish	1684 348	£ 17 0 6	English Irish	1818 38	£ 13 0 6	English Irish	1670 228	£ 3 6
December.	English Irish	1334 286	£ 14 12 0	English Irish	1708 379	£ 10 6 6	English Irish	1874 41	£ 10 6 6	English Irish	1732 229	£ 9 0
January.	English Irish	1591 400	£ 13 1 3	English Irish	1674 386	£ 10 6 6	English Irish	1911 43	£ 9 6 6	English Irish	1728 227	£ 9 0
February.	English Irish	1508 384	£ 14 4 6	English Irish	1633 369	£ 10 6 6	English Irish	1819 171	£ 15 9 0	English Irish	1734 223	£ 17 0
			£ 10 6 6			£ 10 6 6			£ 16 19 1			£ 13 1 6
1828 and 1829. November.	English Irish	7816 1291	£ 10 10 5	English Irish	9183 1620	£ 17 10 0	English Irish	7788 1694	£ 10 13 0	English Irish	7128 1680	£ 19 0
December.	English Irish	309 1289	£ 3 9 6	English Irish	488 1701	£ 1 6 6	English Irish	122 1784	£ 7 24	English Irish	144 1737	£ 18 0
January.	English Irish	843 1347	£ 7 6 6	English Irish	607 1826	£ 13 6 6	English Irish	134 1447	£ 17 0 6	English Irish	120 1745	£ 18 6 6
February.	English Irish	264 1487	£ 8 0 0	English Irish	347 2001	£ 8 0 0	English Irish	123 1847	£ 3 0 3	English Irish	147 1800	£ 15 0 0
			£ 179 1 0			£ 344 4 0			£ 236 4 0			£ 27 6 0
1829 and 1830. November.	English Irish	674 674	£ 7 4 6	English Irish	613 3313	£ 7 4 6	English Irish	143 7084	£ 15 9 6	English Irish	126 7531	£ 16 4 6
December.	English Irish	503 900	£ 119 3 0	English Irish	3108 670	£ 1113 3 0	English Irish	2270 106	£ 259 5 6	English Irish	2080 228	£ 37 0 0
January.	English Irish	945 1911	£ 14 19 6	English Irish	1960 640	£ 6 6 6	English Irish	2046 168	£ 19 19 0	English Irish	2131 259	£ 32 6 0
February.	English Irish	941 2043	£ 12 3 4	English Irish	1931 684	£ 10 6 6	English Irish	2031 199	£ 19 14 6	English Irish	2189 220	£ 34 3 6
			£ 127 16 10			£ 74 5 11			£ 263 6 6			£ 378 19 6
1830 and 1831. November.	English Irish	1086 11,594	£ 9 0 9	English Irish	717 10,712	£ 9 0 9	English Irish	2043 10,410	£ 265 9 3	English Irish	2790 9777	£ 36 16 6
December.	English Irish	2065 2774	£ 128 14 1	English Irish	3108 938	£ 128 0 8	English Irish	2206 207	£ 167 14 5	English Irish	2790 279	£ 34 3 6
January.	English Irish	2177 4023	£ 1 6 6	English Irish	2710 978	£ 1 6 6	English Irish	2306 272	£ 1 15 1	English Irish	2790 279	£ 34 3 6
February.	English Irish	2113 278	£ 1 6 6	English Irish	2323 984	£ 1 6 6	English Irish	2077 213	£ 1 6 6	English Irish	2790 279	£ 34 3 6
			£ 256 3 6			£ 256 3 6			£ 256 3 6			£ 34 3 6
			£ 133 3 3			£ 133 3 3			£ 133 3 3			£ 34 3 6
			£ 300 1 6			£ 300 1 6			£ 300 1 6			£ 34 3 6
			£ 1016 18 64			£ 1016 18 64			£ 1016 18 64			£ 1016 18 64

PAROCHIAL RELIEF administered in eight months of the year 1851, in the TOWNSHIP of MANCHESTER.

No. 2.		NEWTOWN.			ANCOATS.			CENTRAL.			PORTLAND STREET.		
1851.	No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		No. of Cases.	Amount paid.		
		£	s. d.		£	s. d.		£	s. d.		£	s. d.	
March.	English 2037 Irish 1099	265	12 8	English 1943 Irish 804	250	19 6	English 2430 Irish 336	334	19 4	English 1764 Irish 336	199	3 10	
April.	English 2022 Irish 984	138	2 4	English 1917 Irish 806	86	6 6	English 2879 Irish 302	264	8 6	English 1769 Irish 350	213	5 0	
May.	English 1931 Irish 909	317	3 4½	English 1961 Irish 841	264	8 6	English 2285 Irish 180	322	4 0½	English 1735 Irish 214	204	14 2½	
June.	English 1963 Irish 911	127	16 9	English 1980 Irish 882	85	15 0	English 2380 Irish 207	234	18 2	English 1782 Irish 217	207	2 6	
		293	16 6	English 1943 Irish 804	254	7 6	English 2378 Irish 199	314	6 9½	English 1730 Irish 220	218	5 8	
		116	11 6	English 1961 Irish 841	88	14 0	English 2324 Irish 175	21	6 6	English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
		286	6 8	English 1980 Irish 882	249	4 6	English 2284 Irish 152	307	18 6	English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
		117	7 6	English 1943 Irish 804	94	1 0	English 2301 Irish 169	16	19 0	English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2378 Irish 199	312	10 2	English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2324 Irish 175	19	4 2	English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1943 Irish 804			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
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				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
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				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
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				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
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				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
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				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
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				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English 1730 Irish 220	203	3 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2324 Irish 175			English 1697 Irish 227	205	8 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2284 Irish 152			English 1754 Irish 205	201	12 6	
				English 1961 Irish 841			English 2301 Irish 169			English 1732 Irish 211	179	7 6	
				English 1980 Irish 882			English 2378 Irish 199			English			

APPENDIX No. IV.

Inserted in 1862.

I shall hereafter show that the inquiries of the Statistical Society of Manchester disclosed the fact, that in 1834 upwards of 15,000 persons in a population of 200,000 were living in cellar dwellings. The condition of a very large proportion of these dwellings beneath the level of unsewered streets was, to the last degree, insalubrious—it was often pestilential. I have sometimes, as a Dispensary physician, had to make my way to the bed of a patient suffering from typhus, by stepping from one brick to another placed for my convenience on the flagged floor, covered with some inches of water. This occurred to me twice in Little Ireland, where, on one of these occasions, nearly a whole family perished of typhus. The cellars were inundated during a flood in the Medlock. It occurred also in 'Irish town,' in the valley of the Irk; and during the prevalence of cholera I remember carrying away some bad cases in canvas slings, on the shoulders of hospital-bearers, from flooded cellars not far from Knotmill. The following letter was read to the Statistical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Annual Meeting in Liverpool, in 1837. A statement had been made in the Report of the Manchester Statistical Society, on the state of the working classes in Liverpool, that 31,000 persons in Liverpool, out of a population of 230,000 persons, or taking the working population as two-thirds of the whole, 20 per cent. of that class were living in cellars. This was disbelieved, and the police were directed to make an exhaustive inquiry. The following is the Report of the Head Constable of Liverpool to Mr. Adam Hodgson:—

* Watch Office, Sept. 14, 1837.

'SIR,

'I have great pleasure in fulfilling the promise casually made to you yesterday, during the conversation in the Statistical section on inhabited cellars of Liverpool. I had an accurate return made in the morning by the inspectors, and the following is the result:—North district, 4004 inhabited cellars; South district, 3858. Total, 7862. Allowing five inmates to each cellar, and that number is rather under the average (this is only an estimate), the number of persons living in cellars in this town will therefore be 39,310!

'Permit me to observe, that although persons who live in cellars are always poor, poverty is not exactly the cause of their selecting such domiciles. The rent of rooms is not comparatively higher than that of cellars, frequently the reverse; but cellars offer advantages to two descriptions of persons which give them a preference.

'1st. They serve as places for carrying on little retail trades. These trades, in nine cases out of ten, are the reverse of profitable, but still they hold out a slight inducement to those whose hopes are better than their habits: poor women, who keep mangles, also generally live in cellars.

'2nd. A very numerous class prefer the cellar, for this reason—that it renders them independent of their landlords. It is a complete dwelling in itself; the inhabitants enter and leave through their own, and not through their landlord's, door, and consequently ejection is not only a difficulty, but in many cases an

impossibility, without pecuniary compromise. Those, therefore, who are unwilling to pay rent, or occasionally unable to pay it, and whose domestic habits are not very refined, prefer the cellar.

• I must confess that I did not believe, until this morning, that so great a number of persons resided in such objectionable places.

• I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

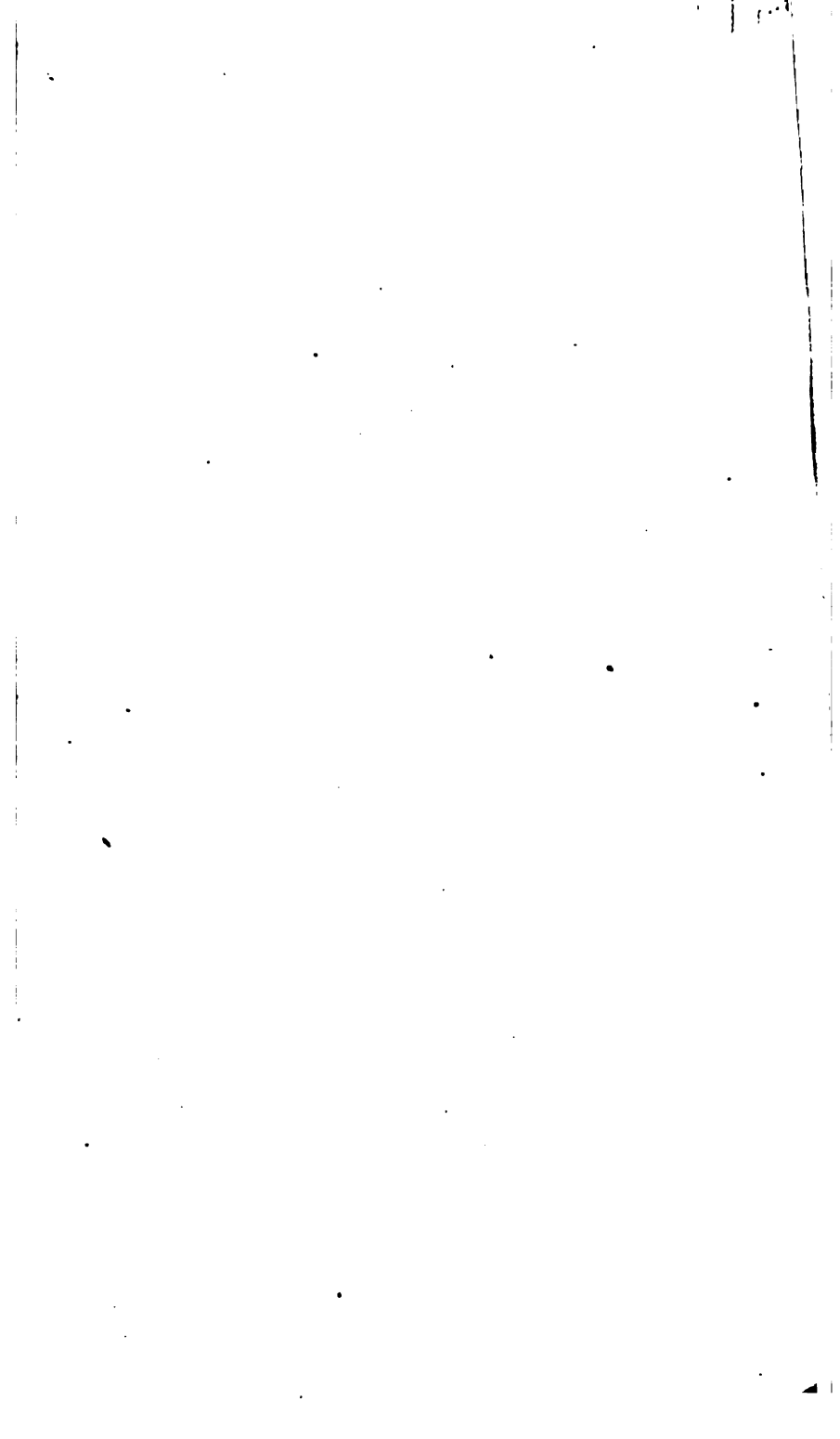
• M. J. WHITTY, Head Constable.

• Adam Hodgson, Esq. •

SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF MANCHESTER

IN THIRTY YEARS

FROM 1832 TO 1862



SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF MANCHESTER IN THIRTY YEARS

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THE description of the moral and physical condition of the working classes in Manchester, which precedes relates to a period immediately before the first Treasury grants for the promotion of Public Education in 1833. I had then been about nine years occupied in the study and practice of medicine. I had been thus led to a close observation of the condition of the population of great cities. As a young student, I acted as assistant to Dr. Alison—the late Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh—first, during an epidemic typhus in the wynds, closes, and many storied barrack-houses of the old town of Edinburgh. Next, as his and Professor Graham's clinical assistant in the wards of the Royal Infirmary, and of the Queensbury Fever Hospital; and then as resident, having charge of the medical wards of the Royal Infirmary. In these capacities I had for some years opportunities of observing the habits and condition of the Scotch and Irish Celtic population during epidemics of the fatal typhus of the old town of Edinburgh.

One autumn I spent with the poor of Dublin, among whom typhus always lurked, and often broke forth with epidemic violence.

I had visited the chief cities of Europe, and been careful to observe the comparative condition of the people.

Then for several years I had been a Dispensary Physician in Ancoats, the poorest district of Manchester, and had spent many hours daily among the labourers and factory operatives, often visited by typhus fever.

When Asiatic cholera appeared, I was Secretary to the Board of Health of Manchester, and Physician to the Knotmill Cholera Hospital. The account of the moral and physical condition of the working classes of Manchester was written after I had been some months in daily attendance on this cholera hospital; and also occupied in tracing every successive case of the disease in the house in which it occurred, in order to ascertain the means by which cholera was propagated, and, if that were impossible, then the conditions promoting its diffusion. My previous experience in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Manchester, had enabled me to suggest to the Board of Health inquiries as to such circumstances in the state of the streets, sewers, drains, cesspools, nuisances, state of dwellings, and courts, as I knew affected the health of the inhabitants. In framing these questions, and moving the Board of Health to confide the investigation to the most intelligent and wealthy inhabitants, I had a double object in view. I wished to bring under the notice of the chief merchants and manufacturers the condition of the streets, courts, and houses of that part of the town in which the poor dwelt. The report would, I knew, be faithful; and, as it would proceed from an indisputable authority, it would be a sure basis of future municipal improvement. Then I also wished to show the most influential inhabitants the close connection between the public health, involving the sanitary security of all classes, and the physical well-being of the people. They would come to know by the history of this epidemic how far the causes of disease were preventible. They would ascertain that cholera and typhus found their victims among classes whose health was depressed by moral and physical evils, which were

the proper objects of public solicitude. In a preface to the second edition of my pamphlet in 1832, I anticipated the formation of a permanent department of public health in the following words:—

‘Cholera can only be eradicated by raising the physical and moral condition of the community in such a degree as to remove the predisposition to its reception and propagation, which is created by poverty and immorality. Were this notion, as it ought to be, widely diffused,—did it become, as it will, the conviction of every intelligent man,—what additional force would be added to the arguments suggested by sympathy and selfishness!

‘The presence of this new danger will so affect the public mind that Boards of Health, established in conformity with the Orders in Council, will become permanent organised centres of medical police, where municipal powers will be directed by scientific men, to the removal of those agencies which most powerfully depress the physical condition of the inhabitants. But I chiefly depend on the strong impression made upon *the public mind*, when I confidently expect that its energy will be directed to promote, not only by general enactment, but by individual exertion, every scheme devised for the moral elevation of the working classes.’

Subsequently to the publication of this pamphlet, a Statistical Society was formed in Manchester, which prosecuted inquiries into the state of education in this and other towns. In 1834, Sir Ben. Heywood ‘read before the Statistical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the results of an inquiry into the condition of 4102 families belonging to the working classes, which he had conducted at his own expense in 1 and 2 Police Districts of the town of Manchester.’ The Statistical Society then ‘selected paid agents, on whose care and diligence they could rely, to visit from house to house among the working classes of the towns of Manchester, Salford, Bury, Ashton, Stalybridge, and Dukinfield, and to fill up a list of queries with which they were fur-

nished.' 'The inquiry occupied seventeen months in the years 1834-5-6.' 'The information obtained was afterwards analysed by the Committee, and compressed into a condensed form.' These investigations were conducted by gentlemen since distinguished—one, by his success as a political author—and the rest, for their eminence as bankers or merchants in Manchester or Liverpool. The results confirmed, to a remarkable extent, the account which I had published of the moral and physical condition of the working classes of Manchester; and I shall avail myself of them in the more grateful task of describing, in contrast with them, the ameliorative change which has in the interval taken place.

It may be desirable to remind my younger readers that the condition of the working classes, described in the following pages, preceded a course of legislation and of administrative improvement which, in the accumulated results of thirty years of beneficial progress, has amounted to a social and political revolution. In 1832 neither Manchester nor Salford was directly represented in Parliament. Their municipal administration were conducted by commissioners of police, whose imperfect powers constantly frustrated the zealous exertions of some of the most public spirited townsmen. The Municipal Corporations' Act had not become law. Factories were 'running' at least twelve hours daily, and often much longer, without any protection for women and children. Warehouses were often open till ten o'clock at night or later, and generally far into the evening. Print and bleach works not unfrequently toiled all night. The system of bounties and restrictions crippled trade and enhanced the cost of the necessities of life.

It is no part of my present purpose to dilate upon the violation of the principles of political economy in our fiscal and commercial legislation which depressed the wages of labour, enhanced the cost of the necessities of life, occasioned extreme uncertainty in commercial arrangements, and by the sudden changes in the rates and faci-

lities of exchange, in monetary circulation and credit, created sudden embarrassments, not simply destructive of private fortunes, and exceedingly discouraging to all legitimate trade, but causing the most severe suffering to the hardy but rude spinners and weavers of the cotton districts. I prefer to place in a note an admirable summary prepared by Mr. David Chadwick of the consequences of a more statesmanlike system of legislation and government, both on the wages of labour and the prices of food.¹

¹ VII.—General Remarks.

'The results of the present inquiry prove that a large proportion of the operative classes in the various branches of trade are receiving more wages at the present time than they have done during the last twenty years.

'It may be safely affirmed that the *low prices* of provisions and clothing, together with the *high rate* of wages, and the facilities for education and mental culture now existing, have placed within the reach of the working classes more physical comforts, and the means of obtaining more social and intellectual enjoyment, than at any previous period.

'(1.) In the *cotton trade* the *advance* of wages has averaged from 10 to 25 per cent. during the twenty years 1839-59.

'(2.) In the *silk trade* an advance of wages has taken place in all the branches equal to more than 10 per cent.

'(3.) In *calico printing, dyeing, and bleaching*, and in *silk and fustian dyeing*, a decline in wages has occurred in those branches which no longer require any special or peculiar skill; and also in the higher class of skilled workmen, such as "*machine printers*;" but the wages of this class now range from 25s. to 50s. per week, the average rate being 38s.

'(4.) In the *building trades* the *increase* in the rate of wages during the twenty years, has averaged from 11 to 32 per cent.

'(5.) In the *mechanical trades* there has been a general advance in nearly all branches. In some instances this advance is equal to 45 per cent.

'A reduction has occurred in the high wages formerly paid to brass moulders (now 30s.) and to engravers to calico printers, though the wages of the latter now range from 25s. to 48s. per week.

'(6.) In the *miscellaneous trades*, including upwards of eighty classes of workmen, the rate of wages has generally been maintained, and in some cases has been considerably advanced.

'The advance of wages, in the great majority of the cases, has been directly occasioned by *improvements of machinery*, whereby the increased production has lessened the cost, and thereby caused a largely increased demand.

'This is shown in a remarkable manner in the cotton trade, the extraordinary extension of which (as illustrated in the Tables in the Appendix) is entirely owing to the cheapening of the means of production. But the remarkable case of the large advance of wages in the building trades presents a peculiar exception to that of other trades.

'The operatives in those trades, by restricting the number of apprentices

Though these crises in trade were generally attended by popular tumults, the authorities depended rather on the troops of the line than on a well organised police for the restraint of a rude, ignorant, and turbulent population. The principles governing the rate of wages—the fluctuations of commerce—the state of credit—were not generally understood among even the middle classes, and among the unlettered poor were questions on which delusions existed, inflaming their passions to wild excesses. Yet there was neither a well-disciplined town nor county police. The ‘runners’ of a sagacious and rough chief constable, spies and informers, and the soldiers, were the

and other arbitrary regulations, have *prevented* the supply of labour from being equal to the demand, and thereby enhanced its value.

‘The Table DD. is a carefully prepared statement of the amount expended in food, clothing, &c., by a working man with a wife and three children, whose earnings average 30s. per week,—as compared with the cost of the same in 1849 and 1850.

‘This return shows that out of an average income of 30s. per week, 20s. 6½d., or rather more than *two-thirds*, are expended in *provisions*, leaving 9s. 5½d., or rather less than *one-third*, for clothing, rent, and sundries. It also shows that the same articles of provisions which, in 1850, cost 20s. 0½d., would in 1849 have cost £1 1s. 5½d., and in 1839, £1 4s. 7d., being a reduction in the cost of provisions of the same quality and quantity during the twenty years, of 4s. ½d. or 20 per cent., or nearly 14 per cent. on the amount of his average income.

‘This reduction arises principally from the repeal of the Corn Laws and the reduction of the duties upon tea, coffee, sugar, and soap.

‘The Return CC. shows that the number of depositors in the Manchester and Salford Savings Bank, was 11,700, in 1839; 24,700, in 1849; and 45,447, in 1850. That the amount of deposits remaining in the bank was, in 1839, £331,000; in 1849, £314,000; and in 1850, £1,100,085. The increase in the number of depositors and the amount deposited may, to a great extent, be ascribed to the improved resources and the extension of provident habits amongst the working classes in the district generally.

‘I believe it is admitted by the great mass of the intelligent working men, that their physical and social position has much improved during the last twenty years; and it is hoped that the continued progress of sanitary improvements in rendering their “homes” more healthy, will further greatly contribute to this result.

‘As a body, they are now much better educated, and are much less addicted to the sin of drunkenness; they have much greater self-respect and intelligence.’

Extracted from ‘*The Rate of Wages in 200 Trades and Branches of Labour in Manchester and Salford, and the Manufacturing District of Lancashire, during twenty years, from 1830 to 1850, &c.*’ By David Chadwick, F.S.S., Treasurer of Salford.

instruments by which the peace was preserved, or disorder was suppressed. The overworked population had scarcely any means of education except Sunday schools, dame schools, and adventure schools. They were ignorant, harassed with toil, inflamed with drink, and often goaded with want, owing to sudden depressions in trade, caused by the defective fiscal, monetary, and commercial system upheld by the law. They broke out into fierce tumults, in which I have seen mobs gut the mills, destroy the machinery, or burn the factories at mid-day. They were at the mercy of leaders who either encouraged senseless 'strikes,' accompanied with the 'picketing' of mills—the mobbing or assassination of 'knobsticks'—or the occasional murder of masters; or they became the victims of those arts of demagogues so graphically exposed in Samuel Bamford's patriotic 'Autobiography of a Radical.' Thus they were led to the manufacture of pikes, moonlight drilling, secret associations encouraged by spices, 'blanket' expeditions, and to the catastrophe of the 'Peterloo Massacre.' Those who desire it, may learn what was the political condition of the district as affecting the security of property and the public peace, by reading the Journal of General Sir Charles Napier, when commander of the northern district. The account which I published in 1832 of the moral and physical condition of the working classes of Manchester, must be regarded as the work of a physician who was unwilling to enter into the whole of the political and social questions involved in the state of the population with which he was in contact, but who could not avoid some reserved allusion to them. It was published with the hope of strengthening the hands of those who in their several spheres of action were represented by Mr. George William Wood, Sir Thomas Potter, Sir Benjamin Heywood, and Mr. (afterwards Alderman) John Shuttleworth. Each of these gentlemen was the centre of energetic efforts for improvement—all consciously tending, with more or less of harmony, to raise Manchester and Salford from the condition of

rude, unorganised, overgrown villages into one great city, worthy of being the emporium of the cotton manufacture and the metropolis of trade.

In 1831 the town was under the government of the Boroughreave and the Commissioners of Police, who had, with limited powers, vigorously commenced the work of improvement. The Charter of Incorporation gave a fresh impulse to this zeal, enlarged its capacities of action, and the growing public spirit opened for itself new spheres of improvement. One gentleman has been remarkably identified with the wise and able acts of the Corporation. No town clerk has possessed greater influence among members of both houses of Parliament than Mr. Joseph Heron, who has laboured for twenty-five years to secure to the city greater municipal power—to vindicate its rights against adverse interests—and especially to render its government a source of wise beneficence to the people by the improvement of their sanitary condition and household comfort.

The Town Council has confided the several departments of municipal action to committees. A very rapid summary of the results of the labours of some of these committees, though necessarily deformed with an accumulation of statistics, is indispensable to a correct estimate of the progress made in Manchester towards a much higher condition of civilisation than that which I described in 1831–32. None are more convinced than the most intelligent and benevolent of its citizens, that what has been done, though great, leaves quite as much undone. But the task is well begun; and if the rate of mortality still proves an imperfect social condition, that active and earnest spirit which has faithfully striven with the evils exposed in 1831–2, will not fail to grapple with those which remain to be overcome.

As the condition of the streets and courts forms one of the most prominent topics of my pamphlet in 1831, I give a brief sketch of the work done by the Paving, Sewering, and Highways Committee. They have made

twenty miles of sewerage, at the expense of the public rates. Under the provisions of the Manchester Improvement Act of 1851, they have also paved and sewered, at the cost of the owners of adjoining property, streets containing an area of 970,033 yards, at an expense of £314,550. In 1861, 1578 streets and courts had been paved, flagged, drained, &c., in thirty years. The length of the streets thus improved was sixty miles; and the area flagged and paved about 205 acres. Ninety miles of main sewers, and forty-nine miles of cross-sewers and eyes had been constructed, and 12,948 siphon-traps had been laid in connection¹ with them.

In 1832, out of 687 streets inspected in Manchester by the gentlemen who undertook this duty, on the invitation of the Board of Health, 352 streets were reported to be foul, with heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, &c. Some of these streets were almost impassable to a cart—most of them were in a condition disgusting to the senses and prejudicial to the public health. The paving, sewerage, and scavenging of the streets has almost banished this loathsome evil; and the Nuisance Committee's Inspectors report on all neglect of drains, ash-pits, cesspools, or of heaps of offensive matter; or on the prevention of noisome smells, all attempts to remove manure at improper hours, and generally on all forms of negligence as to other matters likely to be injurious to public health and safety.

The mode in which pigs were kept in houses and close streets—the position of size and tripe manufactories, and slaughter-houses, and their odious foulness—were fertile sources of disease in 1831. Though the Corporation has not erected public *abattoirs*, which is the only effectual remedy for one part of these evils, very stringent regulations have been adopted to secure the proper construction of slaughter-houses and their cleanliness.

¹ Similar works have been executed, at a very great cost, in the other townships comprised within the municipal borough,—viz., Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Hulme, Ardwick, Cheetham, and Beswick, and in the borough of Salford. In Salford, from 1844 to 1860, the paving and sewerage of 282 streets had cost £21,540.

The smoke from manufactories has also been greatly diminished by the regulations and inspection of the Smoke Committee.

In procuring a supply of water for the city of Manchester, the Corporation have constructed very extensive works in the valley of Longdendale on the river Etherow, at a cost of £827,000. The whole outlay (including £538,000 paid for the property of the former Water Works Company) has been £1,356,459.¹ The valleys of the Pennine chain on its southern slope above Glossop now contain large lakes, which are the reservoirs of the rain-fall on a wide watershed, whence a full supply of water gravitates to every household in Manchester. In 1840 the quantity of water supplied by the Manchester and Salford Water Works Company was one million and a half gallons daily; whereas the daily supply had increased in 1860, under the administration of the Corporation, to eleven millions and a half. The revenue received for water supplied in 1840 was £22,400, and it had increased in 1860 to £72,000.²

The Commissioners of Police, by a wise foresight, chiefly prompted by the late Mr. George William Wood, founded gas works at the expense of the ratepayers, and devoted the annual profits of this enterprise to the improvement of the town, by creating new thoroughfares, like Market and John Dalton Streets, and by widening old streets. The Commissioners, partly from this source, and partly from the highway rates of the township of Manchester, expended £383,000 on these streets before the Charter of Incorporation was granted to the Borough. Since 1839 these public improvements have been judiciously prosecuted by the Town Council with such vigour that upwards of £720,000, derived solely from the profits of the gas works, have been expended upon them. The tradition of Mr. George William Wood's wise design, to improve the facilities for public traffic by the substitu-

¹ Account supplied by the Town Clerk.

² 'Progress of Manchester.' By David Chadwick, Esq.

tion of wide and straight thoroughfares for tortuous and narrow lanes, or intricate zigzag streets without plan, has been faithfully preserved by Mr. Alderman Nield and others; and the gas works have been successfully managed under the skilful and diligent chairmanship of Alderman Shuttleworth. These improvements have been so embellished by the rapidly growing wealth and taste of the city, that a large part of the street architecture in the centres of trade is transformed. Many of the warehouses are chaste structures of brick and stone. Some are even palaces of Italian art. One bank recently built may rival any club in Pall Mall. There are, of course, one or two examples of a grotesque taste. But if the city had secured the site between Lever Street and Oldham Street for a combination of the Town Hall, Post Office, Law Courts, and Exchange, Manchester might also have possessed the noblest public building in Great Britain.

The Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society, which conducted the inquiries into the condition of the working classes in that town in 1834, reports (though the inquiry does not profess to be exhaustive) that 3571 cellar dwellings were examined in the borough of Manchester. The average number of persons living in each cellar was 4·17; therefore, nearly 15,000 persons in a then estimated population of 200,000 were living in cellars.¹ Of 28,186 dwellings examined, 8322 were reported as 'not comfortable.' At that time a large class of these houses had no back yards and conveniences; many were built round close courts; others in back premises, approached from the main street only by entries; and very many were in immediate contact with foul nuisances, with trades so conducted as to be foci of contagion, or with effluvia so noxious to the health of the neighbourhood, as to make it liable to epidemic disease. The attention of

¹ The motives leading to a preference of this kind of dwelling over single rooms, and to its selection in other cases, are given by the Head Constable of Liverpool in the Appendix No. IV., previously inserted at a time when 30,310 persons were living in cellars in that town.

the Corporation has been directed to the improvement of dwellings, and particularly to that of cellar dwellings, since 1854, when the powers vested in the Corporation were referred to a committee. From the 1st of November, 1854, to the 21st August, 1861, the total number of cellars inspected was 1577, of which number 1123 were ordered to be altered, and 454 to be discontinued as separate dwellings. Of these 997 have either been altered, or alterations were in progress when the Building Sanitary Regulations Committee reported, and 370 had been discontinued as separate dwellings. Many cellars ordered to be discontinued as separate dwellings are said to have been so satisfactorily altered as to induce the Committee to refrain from taking further steps to secure an exact compliance with their original notice. As examples of the other forms of sanitary interference superintended by this Committee, I place in a note ¹ an extract from their report of the 18th October, 1861.²

¹ *To the Chairman and Members of the Building and Sanitary Regulations Committee.*

GENTLEMEN,—I very respectfully present to you the annual tabular statement of the business transacted by you from the 1st May, 1860, to the 30th April, 1861.

Table No. 1 shews that the Sub-Committees have inspected 123 properties, comprising 694 tenements, occupied by 2070 persons, for whose accommodation there existed 258 privies and 130 ashpits. After inspection, the Committee, on the recommendation of the Sub-Committees, required 277 privies and 173 ashpits to be constructed. Of the former 250, and of the latter 160, have been completed; 21 privies and 14 ashpits have not been completed; 42 ashpits were ordered to be ventilated, which has been done.

Table No. 2 shews that during the year 17 urinals were ordered to be constructed at public-houses and beer-houses; of which number 7 have been completed and 10 not completed.

Table No. 3 shews that 3 places of worship, 15 warehouses, 8 workshops, and 352 houses have been erected during the year.

Table No. 4 states that 27 buildings reported as having been dangerous, were, under the direction of the Committee and City Surveyor, made secure; that 77 owners or builders of properties were served with the Committees' regulations, notwithstanding which, 8 houses were built contrary to the regulations, and that 23 courts and 78 passages were referred to Committees for paving and sewerage.

² See Extracts from Dr. Headlam Greenhow's Report (in Appendix D.), 1860.

The improvement of the public elementary schools of the city has been chiefly due to the exertions and sacrifices of the Church and other religious communions, aided to the extent of about one-third the whole outlay by the grants made by the government since 1833. But the wisdom and zeal which founded the Public Free Library will long hallow the memory of Sir John Potter, a worthy son of Sir Thomas Potter, thrice elected Mayor of Manchester, as well as its representative in Parliament. This Library, with its three branches, was established at a cost exceeding £18,000, the chief part of the original outlay having been procured from a public subscription, collected by the persevering energy of Sir John Potter, and largely enriched by his munificence. On the 5th of September, 1861, these libraries contained 56,554 volumes. The average daily issues of books were 1369, or 409,021 in 1860-61. The annual expenses are now paid from the borough rates under the Public Libraries' Act.

Public parks for the recreation of the working classes have, in like manner, been created at a cost of £35,000 for the two boroughs of Manchester and Salford.

The Manchester and Salford Baths and Laundries Company have raised £36,135 by shares since 1856, and have four separate establishments. The total number of bathers in 1860 was 177,183, who paid £2503 16s. 5d. In the same year, the number of persons who washed clothes in the laundries was 31,094, and they paid £481 19s. 9½d. The total receipts in this year were £2985 16s. 2½d., and the expenditure £2439 15s. 2d., leaving a profit of £546 1s. 0½d. The directors, therefore, were enabled to pay a dividend of 1½ per cent. on the 30th December, 1860, to the shareholders.

Great as are the proofs given in the preceding details of the progress made in municipal and social improvement, the more abundant means of elementary education, and since 1846, the great development of their efficiency, will bear a comparison with any or all of these departments of ameliorative change. The population of Manchester

has accumulated more rapidly than its natural increase by immigration from the valleys of the Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire highlands, and from Ireland. In 1834 the Statistical Society reported that out of 28,186 heads of families examined in Manchester, 4953 were Irish, and that there were also 9841 Irish lodgers in these families. Thus, at least 30,000 inhabitants in 200,000 were then Irish; and, as the inquiry was not exhaustive, the number was certainly greater. The number of Irish in 1862 is probably double that in 1834; and that their habits and influences on the rest of the population are similar to those observed in 1831, may be deemed probable from an examination of the Table in the note¹, showing the number of Irish poor, without settlements, who were relieved in one year, 1860-1, as compared with the whole of the remaining indigent population, including the Irish who had obtained settlements. This table should be compared with the tables at pages 30-1-2-3 in 1831-2. The proportion of Irish to the population is smaller in Salford.

A population, assembled from districts so rude, was necessarily, in a large part of its elements, semi-barbarous. Mingled with it was the original quaint, honest, and enduring population of the Lancashire homesteads and hand-looms,—a race full of rare qualities,

¹ *Township of Manchester.*

The number of Persons (exclusive of Lunatics in Asylums, and Vagrants) in receipt of Relief during the half-years ended September, 1860, and March, 1861; and Cost of such Relief.

	Out-Door.		In-Door.	
	Number of Persons.	Amount of Relief.	Number of Persons.	Cost of Maintenance.
<i>Irish Poor.</i>				
Half-year, ended Sept. 1860.	2412	£3086 0 1	1471	£1941
Do do. March 1861.	3965	2338 18 8	1752	2226
<i>English, &c., Poor.</i>				
Half-year, ended Sept. 1860.	3522	3714 11 7	3471	5950
Do do. March, 1861.	4513	3777 12 6	3681	6942

—hardy; broken to toil, full of loyalty to the traditions of family and place,—genial, humorous, but coarse,—easily tempted by drink to hurtful excesses, and in periods of prolonged and pinching want apt to be goaded to tumult, and in blind fury to wreak its wrath on machines and mills. This race, mixed with the Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and border elements, presented a singular problem to the educator; for the children were taken at eight years of age, or earlier, to work in factories and mines. Both women and men were required by the exigencies of the ever increasing trade. The mother gave, and still gives, up her infant of a few weeks' or even days' age to a hireling, that she may work in the mills. Young girls were, and still are, kept at home to tend the house and to nurse, and thus grievously interrupt their schooling in order that the family may have the larger earnings of the mother. High wages stimulated and still provoke sensuality in an untaught and coarse population. Gin shops, beer shops, and taverns multiplied before schools and churches effectually began their work. The tares were rank before the husbandman asked himself the question, whether the wheat could contend with them for the soil.

Two exhaustive inquiries, one of which was conducted by the Statistical Society in the years 1834–5, and the other by the Committee on the Manchester and Salford Local Education Bill, in 1852¹, afford the means of comparison so as to show the progress made in schools in seventeen years, and a recent investigation by the chief constables completes this comparison to 1861. But the last fifteen years have been marked by a still greater improvement, if measured by the greater efficiency of the schools. The statistics 'available however to demon-

¹ I shall avail myself freely of the results of this inquiry as recorded in the important evidence of Canon Richson, before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1852. The inquiry owes much of its completeness and success to Canon Richson's statistical experience and skill, and to the zeal with which he superintended the inquiry. Mr. Joseph Adahed's evidence before the same Committee contains also many valuable facts. See Report ordered to be printed, June 21, 1852.

strate this' want the completeness of those of 1834-5, and 1852. Even prior to 1852 a large part of the change had consisted in the substitution of public elementary day schools, under the management of the religious bodies, for Dame Schools, and Private Adventure Schools.

The Dame Schools are described in the Report of the Committee of the Statistical Society in 1834-5 as 'in the most deplorable condition. The greater part of them are kept by females, but some by old men, whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other. Many of these teachers are engaged at the same time in some other employment, such as shopkeeping, sewing, washing, &c., which renders any regular instruction among their scholars absolutely impossible. Indeed, neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this as the principal object in sending their children to these schools, but generally say that they go there in order to be taken care of, and to be out of the way at home' (p. 5).

'These schools are generally found in very dirty unwholesome rooms—frequently in close damp cellars, or old dilapidated garrets. In one of these schools eleven children were found in a small room in which one of the children of the mistress was lying in bed ill of the measles. Another child had died in the same room of the same complaint a few days before, and no less than thirty of the usual scholars were then confined at home with the same disease' (p. 6).

'In another school all the children, to the number of twenty, were squatted on the bare floor, there being no benches, chairs, or furniture of any kind in the room. The master said his terms would not allow him to provide forms; but he hoped that as his school increased, and his circumstances thereby improved, he should be able some time or other to provide this luxury' (p. 6).

'In by far the greater number of these schools, there were only two or three books among the whole number of scholars. In others there was not one; and the chil-

dren depended for their instruction on the chance of some one of them bringing a book, or a part of one, from home. Books, however, were occasionally provided by the mistress, and in this case the supply is somewhat greater; but in almost all cases it is exceedingly deficient' (p. 6).

'One of these schools is kept by a blind man, who hears his scholars read their lessons, and explains them with great simplicity; he is, however, liable to interruption in his academic labours, as his wife keeps a mangle, and he is obliged to turn it for her' (p. 6).

'Occasionally, in some of the more respectable districts there are still to be found one or two of the old primitive Dame Schools, kept by a tidy, elderly female, whose school has an appearance of neatness and order, which strongly distinguishes it from this class of schools. The terms, however, are here somewhat higher, and the children evidently belong to a more respectable class of parents. The terms of the Dame Schools vary from 2*d.* to 7*d.* a week, and average 4*d.* The average yearly receipts of each mistress are about £17 10*s.* The number of children attending these Dame Schools is 4722; but it appears to the Committee that no instruction really deserving the name is received in them; and in reckoning the number of those to be considered as partaking of the advantages of useful education, these children must be left almost entirely out of the amount' (p. 7).

'The "Common Day Schools," kept by private adventure teachers, in 1834-5, are described by the Statistical Society's Committee as in rather better condition than those last mentioned, but are still very little fitted to give a really useful education to the children of the lower classes. The masters are generally in no way qualified for their occupation, take little interest in it, and show very little disposition to adopt any of the improvements that have elsewhere been made in the system of instruction. The terms are generally low; and it is no uncommon thing to find the master professing to regulate his exertions by the rate of payment received from his pupils—saying

that he gives enough for 4*d.*, 6*d.*, or 8*d.* a week; but that if the scholars would pay higher, he would teach them more. The payments vary from 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per week, the greater number being from 6*d.* to 9*d.*; and the average receipts of the master are 16*s.* or 17*s.* a week' (pp. 8 and 9).

✓ 'There are very few schools in which the sexes are entirely divided,—almost every boys' school containing some girls, and every girls' school a few boys. They are chiefly the children of mechanics, warehousemen, or small shopkeepers, and learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, and, in a few of the better description of schools, a little grammar and geography. In a great majority of these schools there seems to be a great want of orderly system. The confusion arising from this defect, added to the very low qualifications of the master, the number of scholars under the superintendence of one teacher, the irregularity of the attendance, the great deficiency of books, and the injudicious plan of instruction, or, rather, the want of any plan, render them inefficient for any purposes of real education' (p. 9).

✓ 'Religious instruction is seldom attended to, beyond the rehearsal of a catechism; and moral education, real cultivation of mind, and improvement of character totally neglected. "Morals!" said one master, in answer to the inquiry whether he taught them "morals." "How am I to teach morals to the like of these?" The girls' schools are generally in much better condition than the boys' schools, and bear a greater appearance of cleanliness, order, and regularity. This seems to arise in part from the former being more constantly employed, and the scholars being fewer in number to each teacher' (p. 10).

In 1834–5 there were 11,512 scholars in attendance in Manchester on these two classes of schools, of whom 4722 were in the Dames' Schools; whereas, in schools connected with the religious bodies there were only 3818 scholars. In 1852 the proportions were reversed. The children in Dame and Adventure Day Schools were reduced to 4334; and those in the schools under the direc-

tion of the Religious Communions had quadrupled, having become 15,270. At the same time, the numbers in superior private schools had increased from 2934 in 1834-5, to 3772 in 1852. In Salford the scholars of the Dame and Private Adventure Schools had been reduced from 3357 in 1834-5, to 1217 in 1852; whereas the children attending National, British, and Denominational Schools had increased from 1566 in 1834-5, to 4246 in 1852; the superior Private Schools, from 882 to 1125.

The population of Manchester had increased from 200,000 to 303,358, and that of Salford, with the townships of Broughton and Pendleton, from 55,000 in 1834-5, to 84,764 in 1851.

The number of Sunday Scholars had, in this period of seventeen years, increased from 24,104, in Manchester, to 38,699; and in Salford, &c., from 6566 to 12,233, or in a much more rapid ratio than the population.¹ For, while the population had increased at the rate of 50 per cent., the Sunday Scholars were 66 per cent. more numerous, and the scholars of superior Private Schools, and National, British, and Denominational Schools had become more than two and a half times as great, or had increased at the rate of about 260 per cent. X

The change, even up to the year 1852, was not, however, to be measured by the gradual extinction of the worthless Dame and Adventure Schools, and the erection of capacious and well ventilated elementary school-rooms,

¹ The statistics submitted by Mr. Joseph Adshend to the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Manchester and Salford Local Education Bill, differed in some degree from those presented by Canon Richson on behalf of the Manchester Committee. Mr. Adshend's 'Comparative Summary of Sunday Schools, with Population, &c., in 1834 and 1851,' was as follows:

Population of townships of Manchester, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Hulme, Ardwick, Beswick, Cheetham, in 1834, is reduced by him to 182,010; and the number of Sunday scholars increased to 31,053. In 1851 the population is stated from the census, at 303,358; and the number of Sunday scholars, in the above township, as 53,860. Whilst, therefore, the population had, according to this account, increased about 56 per cent., the number of Sunday scholars had increased at the rate of 66 per cent. Both estimates have been made in good faith: it is unnecessary here to explain the causes of the discrepancy.

under the management of the religious bodies, nor by the great increase of scholars attracted to them. From about 1844, a class of trained teachers had been in course of introduction. In 1847 the Pupil-Teacher-system commenced; and from that time forward the Trained Certificated Teachers, aided by grants under the Minutes of 1846, gradually gave, with the aid of their apprentices, an entirely new organisation to the schools. The internal arrangement, fittings, apparatus, books, and methods of instruction, were transformed. The Manchester Statistical Society had, in 1834-5, reported respecting the two schools on Dr. Bell's monitorial system; and one school, with 1040 scholars, conducted on the Lancasterian system, that, 'they seem to be well conducted according to the systems they pursue; but it appears to the Committee that some of these systems are capable of much improvement. In the Lancasterian school, for example, and in others where a very large number of scholars are placed under the direction of one master, the plan of instruction is too mechanical; and, while the children make considerable progress in such branches of knowledge as can be taught in this manner, particularly in writing and arithmetic, many other branches of useful knowledge, and still more the general cultivation of their mental powers, are often totally neglected.'

The Lancasterian school thus commented upon was, excepting the admirable monitorial schools of the Borough Road, and those of the Kildare Place, in Dublin, the best English monitorial school which I ever visited. It contained many paid monitors, and comprised among its scholars children of small shopkeepers, overlookers, superior mechanics, and handicraftsmen. The intelligence of a large proportion of the scholars, aided by trained and paid monitors, enabled this school to approach, in some of its features, the successful examples to which I have alluded. These schools had, by paying their monitors and retaining their services to a riper age, taken the first step towards the Pupil-Teacher-system. Their paid

monitors were under stricter discipline, more docile, better instructed, more skilful ; and the whole organisation of the school was consequently better ordered, and the instruction more exact and efficient. But it was necessarily limited to what boys from twelve to fourteen, or at most fifteen, years of age could teach. They, too, received their instruction in a monitorial class in the school hours, and the efficiency of the school, therefore, depended on the time which the master could devote to this class. His attention, skill, and energy were, therefore, concentrated on it. The school of 1040 children in Manchester was taught by them.

The results in the Borough Road and the Kildare Place schools were remarkable ; but even these schools were, as in Manchester, liable to the criticism of the Committee of the Statistical Society. The fatal defect of the system was that it was inapplicable in districts in which the monitors could not be selected from intelligent and well-ordered families, who could afford, with the aid of a slight remuneration, to allow them to remain three years at least beyond the usual school age, in order that they might have the special care and attention of the master. The causes of the failure of the monitorial system in ordinary practice will be found to be fully described in subsequent pages of this volume. ✓

On the contrary, the pupil teacher begins his work at a more mature age than the monitor usually abandoned his, except in such schools as those of the Borough Road and Kildare Place. He is apprenticed to the teacher, and, therefore, strictly subordinate to him. He is paid an annual stipend contingent on his good conduct, attention to his duties, and success in an annual examination by the Queen's inspector. He receives daily one hour and a half of instruction out of the usual school hours from the teacher. His character and his religious and moral training are under the special charge of the parochial or other minister, and their certificate and that of Managers' are annually required. ✓ The result of these arrangements has

been an almost unprecedented success. The Queen's scholars are preferred to all other students in the Training Colleges, not merely on account of their more exact attainments, habits of application, and aptitude to learn and to teach, but on account of their more docile dispositions, stricter sense of duty, and, as far as observation extends, greater consciousness of religious obligation. Not only so, a director of the Guarantee Society, which undertakes the suretyship of persons holding mercantile and government offices with pecuniary responsibility, assures me that, though the Society has given security for a great number of young men who had passed through their apprenticeships as pupil teachers, it has suffered no loss on their account. The certificated masters are the Queen's scholars ripened by two years' training in college, and sent forth with a renewal of obligation to the government, in addition to their direct responsibilities to the managers of schools. Their certificates are not awarded until after two years' good service in the same school, and are liable to be withdrawn for misconduct. Their augmentation grants are annually dependent on the satisfaction which they give to the managers and the Queen's inspector; and this augmentation, as well as their salary derived from local sources, grows with faithful and successful service. This system has, between 1847 and 1862, transformed the monitorial schools into well organised establishments, supplied with a staff of certificated teachers and of assistant or pupil teachers, grappling with the difficulties attending the instruction of the children of an unlettered sensual population, of very migratory habits, unconscious from experience of the advantages of instruction, and apt to sacrifice the mental and moral training of the scholars to some caprice or transient want, or to the gratification of low animal instincts.

While this great improvement in the efficiency of day schools has been in progress, the proportionate increase in scholars has been very great. An inquiry conducted at the suggestion of Mr. David Chadwick by the Head Con-

stables, Captain Palin and Mr. Taylor, gave the following results as to the numbers of Sunday and day scholars in Manchester and Salford in 1861 :—

The pupils in day schools under the religious communions had increased in Manchester successively from 3818 in 1834-5, to 15,270 in 1852, and then to 22,837 in 1861 : while in Salford they had augmented from 1566 in 1834-5, to 4246 in 1852, and to 7850 in 1861. In the two boroughs, therefore, the day scholars in charge of the religious bodies had increased in 27 years from 5,384 to 30,687 ; or they were nearly six times more numerous.

For other particulars respecting the public and private day schools, and also concerning Sunday schools, I must refer to the subjoined Note¹, containing two Tables, extracted from Mr. David Chadwick's papers on the Progress of Manchester (1861).

The growth of the cotton manufacture had been so rapid, that before 1830, even in the great centre of the trade, the means of religious instruction and public worship were strangely defective. But Mr. Joseph Adshead stated in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Manchester and Salford Education Bill (June 21, 1852), that the amount of accommodation for public worship, in connection with the whole of the religious bodies in the borough of Manchester, had remarkably increased between 1831 and 1851. In that borough in 1851, there were 121 churches and chapels, containing sittings for 95,729, or for nearly one-third of the whole population. Of these 40 per cent. belonged to the Church of England, 7 per cent. to the Roman Catholics (whose chapels are, however, thronged during several successive services in the same day), and 53 per cent. to the several denominations of Dissenters. Whereas in

¹ The present average attendance at day schools in Manchester was stated as 31,023; in Salford, 9,026; total, 41,848. And in Sunday-schools, in Manchester, 42,687; in Salford, 13,272; total, 55,959; as particularised in the following Tables, prepared for this paper by Captain Palin and Mr. Taylor:—

1831 there had been only 50 churches and chapels, with sittings for 51,742 persons. There was, therefore, in 20 years an increase of 43,987 sittings, or $86\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., during a period in which the population had increased $66\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

I am indebted to the labours of Mr. David Chadwick, as a statistician, for the following information, which he has collected with much difficulty and expense. The

Return showing the Number of Schools of all Denominations within the City of Manchester, and the number of Scholars attending them.

Day & Sunday Schools.	Sunday Schools.	Total.	If under Government Inspection, and if Church of England, Roman Catholic, or Dissenting.	Day Scholars.				Sunday Scholars.
				Under 7 years.	Under 14 years.	Above 14 yrs.	Total.	
8	2	10	Church of England . .	463	700	12	1175	14,904
34	..	34	Ditto under Inspection.	6040	6845	45	12,930	
5	..	5	Roman Catholic . . .	570	384	15	969	5150
7	..	7	Ditto under Inspection .	1226	1516	12	2754	
18	44	62	Dissenting	1157	1544	21	2722	20,803
6	..	6	Ditto under Inspection .	772	1470	45	2287	
191	..	191	(Private Schools, Academies, and all Establishments not directly connected with a Place of Worship)	2678	5943	465	9086	1830
269	46	315		12,906	18,402	615	31,923	42,687

Return showing the Number of Schools of all Denominations in Salford, including Broughton and Pendleton, and the Number of Scholars attending them.

No. of Schools.	If under Government Inspection, and if Church of England, Roman Catholic, or Dissenting.	Day Scholars.				Sunday Scholars.
		Under 7 years.	Under 14 yrs.	Above 14 yrs.	Total.	
1	Church of England	10	43	1	54	6757
18	Ditto, under Inspection . .	2499	2634	13	5146	
2	Roman Catholic	318	456	2	776	1040
4	Dissenting	160	233	10	402	
3	Ditto, under Inspection . .	642	764	66	1472	8557
48	(Private Schools, Academies, and all Establishments not directly connected with a Place of Worship . .)	489	1402	184	2075	
78		4118	5531	276	9925	16,354

account given by Mr. Joseph Adshead was confined to the city of Manchester; that collected by Mr. David Chadwick comprises the borough of Salford and adjoining districts. The aggregate population in 1840 was 315,000, with sittings in churches and chapels for 86,442. In 1850, the population had increased to 405,000, with sittings for 126,331. In 1860, the population was 470,000, and the sittings were 184,016.

This account is not so encouraging as that given by Mr. Adshead for the twenty years from 1831 to 1851, and for the city of Manchester alone. In Manchester, Salford, and the adjoining districts, the proportion of sittings to the population, from Mr. David Chadwick's statistics, appear to have been in 1840, one sitting to nearly three and two-thirds persons of all ages; in 1850, one sitting to about three and one-fifth; and in 1860, one sitting to nearly two persons and three-fifths. (See Table on p. 112.)

I gave in 1831 some account of the operation of the City Missionaries and District Visiting Societies. Mr. Adshead in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons (on the 7th June, 1852), thus describes the principles and progress of the Manchester and Salford City Mission, affording a gratifying answer to the 'regret' which I had expressed in 1831, that the 'number' of these missionaries was 'utterly insufficient to affect the habits of more than a small portion of the population.' Ancoats, Newtown, and Portland districts, 'in which 'reside the most indigent and immoral of our poor,' were then 'unoccupied.' 'In 1832,' says Mr. Adshead, 'a few persons joined together to devise the best means of providing an agency by which 'these 'classes of persons might be morally and religiously benefited.' 'The Committee of this Association is composed of members of the Church of England, Independents, Baptists, Wesleyans, and Presbyterians; and although comprising these several religious opinions, the greatest unanimity has prevailed in advancing the object of the Mission.' 'The guiding principle' 'was not to proselytise, but to evangelise. The first

TABLE — showing the Increase of Churches and Chapels, with the Amount of Seat-room for decennial periods, in the City of Manchester and Borough of Salford, and adjoining Districts.

Denomination.	1840.			1850.			1860.		
	Churches and Chapels.	Seat-room.	Population.	Churches and Chapels.	Seat-room.	Population.	Churches and Chapels.	Seat-room.	Population.
Church of England .	28	34,246	315,000	48	46,896	405,000	85	82,411	470,000
Dissenters	77	46,246		120	70,605		130	91,605	
Roman Catholics . .	4	6000		7	8650		10	10,000	
	109	86,492		175	126,331		225	184,016	

year of the operations of this Mission, they had 20 missionaries; they have now (1852) 70 missionary agents, who are daily employed in visiting the operative classes in Manchester and Salford.' They 'are regarded as friends of the operative classes, which will appear from the following particulars of their operations from 1837 to 1852:—Visits made to the abodes of the operative classes 2,247,420; meetings held, 65,815; persons who have attended such meetings, 1,289,462; tracts distributed, 3,212,859; turned from the error of their ways, or as it is said in the Reports, "hopefully converted to God," 4658; visitations to the sick, 248,159; of the last it is said in the Reports ("died hopefully in the faith of the Gospel"), 3583; infidels reclaimed, 211; prostitutes returned to society, 141; drunkards reclaimed, 987; children induced to attend Sunday schools, 6285; adult persons induced to attend public worship, 5036. The amount contributed from the commencement of the Society in 1837 to 1852 was "£44,971 15s."'

In 1861 the number of missionaries had increased to 100; of house visits to 379,902 in that year, and to a total of 5,266,289; the visits to the sick to 50,059 in the year, and to a total of 600,544. The other acts of ministration were in similar proportion, as will be seen in the tabular¹ summary, where the outlay in 1861 is

¹ 'Organised infidel opposition is scarcely known, and the Bible reader and his teaching receives a welcome among all classes of working men, such as was seldom witnessed in the earlier years of the Society's history.

'The cases reported as "Reclaimed Infidels," by the Missionaries for the last few years have become less and less; and that, too, whilst those under other heads of usefulness have all increased. The present year furnishes only seven. This is another corroborative evidence at least that scepticism in Manchester, so far as any avowed form of it is concerned, is greatly reduced. It is therefore deemed needless any longer, to specify such instances under a distinct column among the results of Missionary labour.'—*From Manchester City Mission Report, 1860.*

The following summary was also presented to me by Mr. Geldard, the Secretary to the *City Mission*:—"The various meetings of men collected together weekly, at their respective places of employment, for the purpose of religious services, strongly confirm this encouraging statement. Full 2000 men are, by these means, instructed by the Missionary, in addition to 5000 or

Summary of Labour, Results, and Income, as Reported from the Commencement in 1837 to 1861.

Date.	No. of Mentors.	Visits.	Visits to the Sick.	Meetings held.	Average Attendance.	Tracts Circulated.	Induced to attend Public Worship.	Hospital Conversions.	Domestic Communications.	Hospital Discharge.	Induits Received.	Fishes Women Restored.	Drunkards Reformed.	Children sent to Sunday Schools.	Children sent to Day Schools.	Income.
From 1837 to 1852	From 20 to 60	2,247,430	248,159	65,815	19	3,212,859	5036	4658	1046	3583	211	141	987	6385	42,127 11 5	42,127 11 5
1853	69	285,890	26,266	6443	16	98,063	601	594	98	724	20	21	132	919	4686 6 1	4686 6 1
1854	80	337,908	37,280	7257	15	86,000	955	568	145	873	17	23	190	1693	4770 7 11	4770 7 11
1855	75	353,214	40,754	8096	25	96,963	663	517	133	720	17	18	186	1166	4829 13 5	4829 13 5
1856	70	319,704	34,442	8441	22	72,145	786	497	183	821	27	27	182	1232	5443 7 5	5443 7 5
1857	80	313,169	36,993	8203	20	89,637	616	608	114	831	24	22	201	1153	5378 1 9	5378 1 9
1858	80	337,720	39,390	9469	33	272,116	728	665	148	998	24	27	229	1144	5707 4 5	5707 4 5
1859	86	337,227	39,920	10,455	36	326,313	804	776	188	1059	14	56	220	1033	5366 6 4	5366 6 4
1860	88	364,134	47,281	12,253	29	367,396	721	756	181	1349	7	78	196	831	6375 3 11	6375 3 11
1861	100	379,902	50,059	12,244	25	325,118	656	805	188	1281	—	176	227	1009	6261 9 3	6261 9 3
Totals ...		5,266,289	600,544	148,776		4,946,509	11,566	10,444	2424	12,239	361	539	2750	16,464	9997	90,945 11 11

recorded as amounting to £6261 9s. 8d., and the whole outlay from the commencement of the City Mission to £90,945 11s. 11d.

One part of the operations of the City Mission is supported by a separate fund. Mr. Le Mare had been a Member of the Local Committee on the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. He was aware, from the investigations of that Committee, to how great an extent the apathy of parents co-operated with their waste of the means of comfortable living, and sometimes with their poverty, to induce a neglect of the schooling of their children.

0000 met with in their daily house-to-house visitations. Any sceptical objections or indisposition to attend these meetings are exceptions to the general rule, and the opportunities seem likely to multiply every month. They are held among the lurrymen or carters, in the employ of the large carriers — the passenger and goods porters of the London and North Western — the Lancashire and Yorkshire, the East Lancashire and the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Companies; almost all the men under the town councils of Manchester and Salford,—viz. the police, the lamplighters, the gas works and main men, the paviours, the night scavengers, the men in breweries, dye works, print works, machine shops, tan yards, file works, alum works, &c.; also, cabmen and ostlers. The large tea meetings held occasionally with these men and their wives, are abundant proof of the popular feeling entertained towards the religious teacher. The men in the employ of the Council Lamp and Scavenging Committee, with their wives, took tea together a few days since — nearly 000 in the whole — when the chairman, Ivie Mackie, Esq., stated that the improvement among the men was so marked, that, instead of the Committee being occupied at their fortnightly meeting for an hour and a half, as it used to be, in hearing complaints against delinquents for neglect of work, they now had scarcely any brought before them. At a similar large meeting of the Railway Porters of the Goods Department of the London and North Western Railway, Mr. Kay, their superintendent, who was in the chair, said that about 500 copies of the Scriptures had lately been sold to those under his charge, and during the past year, only four men had been brought before him because of drunkenness or other fault — a smaller number by far than he had ever before known. Two tea meetings will soon take place for the men and their wives, and friends connected with the gas works and main men under the Gas Works Committee. These together will number about 1000.

When the lurrymen or carters, in April last, obtained the boon of shorter hours, by a wise arrangement made between the merchants and the carriers, they desired, entirely of their own accord, to celebrate the event, and to testify their gratitude by attending, in a company 800 strong, at Christ Church on the Sunday afternoon, to hear a sermon from the Rev. Canon Stowell.

Mr. Forbes, one of the City Missionaries, as early as January, 1849, had devised a scheme for the remedy of this evil, and had to a limited extent carried it into execution. Mr. Le Mare subsequently resolved on a similar effort on a more extended scale. The principles on which these two Supplemental School funds are administered, and the agency employed—the City Missionaries—are the same. The intention is to arouse parents to a sense of their duty of sending their children to school, and to aid and encourage them in the discharge of it by paying part of the school-pence. The fund collected by Mr. Le Mare has, during six years, averaged £372 15s. 7d. per annum. That raised by Mr. Forbes, is from £110 to £120 per annum. ‘The proportion of school-fees paid by the parents at first was 38 per cent. ; but from the last year (1860–61) it has been 51 per cent.’ Mr. Le Mare reports in 1858, that ‘the number of children receiving instruction’ through these means was ‘altogether about 2800, of whom 1800 were aided by the fund’ under his charge, ‘and the residue by other means,’ such as Mr. Forbes’s separate fund. In 1861, the Committee of Mr. Forbes’s fund report that 562 children had been thus kept at school at a cost of £241 4s. 5d., of which £129 5s. 7½d. was paid by the family, and £111 18s. 9½d. by the subscribers to the Supplementary School fund. Benevolent and useful as are these forms of action, they ought to be regarded as only transient expedients, adapted less to the real need than the apathy and sensual condition of a population in receipt, for the most part, of high wages, but unlettered, unconscious of the value of education to their children, and wasting their resources in coarse living and in drink. The application of such palliatives is, by no means, a subject of unmixed gratification. The period during which they can be continued, and the classes to which they can be extended, are legitimate subjects of a vigilant jealousy. The charity which ceases to quicken the sense of duty is often a pernicious dolt.

The gentlemen who have charge of these funds are doubtless, however, well aware of the necessity for this caution.

While churches, schools, and missionaries are striving, by their moral agencies, to wean the population from sensual and criminal habits, the police watch and restrain the criminal classes. The proportion of the constabulary to the population does not bear a strict relation to the need for their interference; but it may be regarded as one among many indications of the comparative security of the person, of property, and the public peace. In the counties of England and Wales, apart from the boroughs, the amount of this force¹ for 1860 was 1 in 1417 of the population; in the boroughs maintaining a separate Police Force (excepting the City of London and the Metropolitan Police District) it was 1 in 720, and in the City of Manchester 1 in 502 inhabitants. In the City of Manchester in 1841 the police numbered 817, and in 1859-60 their force amounted to 617.

The proportion of the criminal classes to the population was more favourable in the seats of the cotton and linen manufactures than in any other districts in England and Wales, except the metropolis. The following are the proportions:—

	Criminal Classes.	Prostitutes.
1. The Metropolis	1 in 183·8	1 in 366·8
2. Seats of Cotton and Linen Manufactures	1 in 131·4	1 in 506·4
3. Seats of small Mixed Textile Fabrics	1 in 126·7	1 in 357·2
4. Seats of Woollen and Worsted Manufactures	1 in 121·0	1 in 596·8
5. Pleasure Towns	1 in 103·8	1 in 248·2
6. Commercial Ports	1 in 99·9	1 in 182·0
7. Agricultural Towns	1 in 91·5	1 in 241·0
8. Seats of Hardware Manufacture	1 in 67·8	1 in 423·3

Mr. David Chadwick has furnished me with another

¹ Judicial Statistics, 1860, England and Wales. Presented to Parliament, p. 5.

result of his laborious statistical investigations (see Appendix C), showing the number of persons 'taken into custody, summarily convicted, convicted on indictment, and discharged or acquitted, in each year, from 1841 to 1860. From these returns it appears that 3249 persons were on the average summarily convicted in each of the first six years of this term to 1846 inclusive, and 3703 in each of the last six years, or from 1854 to 1860. The number of criminals convicted on trial, was in each of six years, from 1841 to 1846 inclusive, on the average, 571; whereas in the last six years to 1860, the annual average was 586. In the city of Manchester, therefore, crime has remained stationary during twenty years, in which the population has more than doubled. The number of prisoners in the Manchester City Gaol has, however, increased from 303 in 1851, to 508 in 1861, which is an indication, either of a change in the character of the punishments inflicted, or of an increase in the class of crimes punished by imprisonment (see Appendix C). I place some facts also in a note¹ extracted from the Official Summary and Tables of Judicial Statistics, relating

¹ 'Burglary and house-breaking' are stated to be most frequent in the country districts. (*) 'In the city of Manchester, however, 200 cases of this crime occurred in 1800, or one offence in 1127·8 of the population, while in Liverpool only 51 cases were reported, or an offence against every 7341·2 of the population. In Manchester the number of indictable offences reported was 5975; in Liverpool, 4104,—the population of the latter town exceeding that of the former by 17,000. In 1850 the cases of house-breaking and burglary were in Manchester, 227; in Liverpool, 70. The total of the indictable offences was in Manchester, 6123; in Liverpool, 3001: showing a still greater disproportion in the total number of crimes than in 1800.' On the other hand, offences entitled 'Shooting at, wounding, stabbing, &c., to do bodily harm,' amounted to 100 in Liverpool, and only to 13 in Manchester. (†) In Liverpool there were 18,306 summary convictions, out of 37,214 proceeded against; and in the City of Manchester only 4742 out of 8508 proceeded against; and in Salford 1101 (‡), out of 1877 proceeded against. In explanation of this enormous disparity in the offences punishable by Justices, the following numbers may be compared (¶), which account for its chief sources:—

• Judicial Statistics, p. 6. • Ibid, p. 15. • Ibid, p. 22. • Ibid, p. 27.

chiefly to a comparison of the criminal returns of Manchester and Liverpool. It concerns the police to watch and detect the skilful burglars, who are attracted by the defenceless state of warehouses and houses to Manchester.

It ought also to be remarked that, while the population of England and Wales has increased from 17,927,609 in 1851, to 20,066,145 in 1861, the number of persons committed or bailed for trial in 1851, amounted to 27,960, and in 1860 it was reduced to 15,999. The comparative returns in the county of Lancaster¹ in 1851, reported 3459 persons committed or bailed for trial in a population of 2,031,236, and in 1860 they were 2701 in a population of 2,465,366. If, therefore, crime has remained stationary in Manchester during a period in which its population has doubled, and in England and Wales crime has diminished six-fourteenths, while the population increased about one-eighth, the condition of Manchester will bear a comparison with that of England and Wales as to the relative proportions of crime to the population.

Both crime and pauperism are affected by the rapid accumulation of a rude immigrant population. Mr. David Chadwick's Table of the increase of the population in England and Wales, and in the County of Lancaster, as

Offences.	Liverpool Borough.	Manchester City.	Salford Borough.
Assaults on Peace Officers, resisting, obstructing, &c.	1126	276	66
Drunkenness, and drunk and disorderly	10,963	2329	—
Local Acts and Borough Bye-laws, offences against	14,459	120	113
Offences punishable as misdemeanours	1337	—	—
Revenue Laws, offences against	444	—	—
Mercantile Acts, offences against	330	—	—
Larceny by offenders under 16	483	90	48
Larceny under value of 5s. and on pleading guilty	1419	157	172

¹ Judicial Statistics, p. 54.

compared with that of Manchester (see note ¹), proves how vast that immigration has been. The accumulation of wealth in the City has kept pace with that of inhabitants; for the assessments for the poor-rate (see Table Appendix D) have increased from £307,510 in 1820 to £789,203 in 1860, in which period the population had about doubled. The average annual amount of the poor-rate from 1820 to 1829, both inclusive, was £59,965, and in the ten years from 1851 to 1860, both inclusive, the annual average was £141,667, being in 1860 £131,533. So that, while the poor-rate is much more than double—being two-fifths less than three times its amount in 1820, population has more than doubled in the same period. The rate of increase in pauperism has, therefore, quite kept pace with that of wealth and population since 1821. Taking into account the fact that the value of the property assessed has more than doubled, that wages have improved, employment has been more

¹ *Population of England and Wales, of the County of Lancaster, and of the Manchester Districts, from 1801 to 1851.*

	1801.	1811.	Increase 1801-11.	1831.	Increase 1811-31.
England and Wales	8,892,536	10,164,256	Per cent. 14	12,000,236	Per cent. 18
County of Lancaster	673,486	828,499	22	1,052,948	27
Manchester	124,339	149,801	20.6	201,506	34.5
Salford					
Chorlton and					
Barton-upon-Irwell					
Poor-Law Districts					

	1831.	Increase 1821-31.	1841.	Increase 1831-41.	1851.	Increase 1841-51.
England and Wales.	12,896,797	Per cent. 16	15,914,148	Per cent. 14	17,927,609	Per cent. 13
County of Lancaster.	1,336,854	27	1,667,054	24	2,031,236	22
Manchester	284,238	41	366,050	42.86	471,382	28.77
Salford						
Chorlton and						
Barton-upon-Irwell						
Poor-Law Districts						

This Table is extracted from Mr. David Chadwick's 'Rate of Wages,' p. 24.

steady, and the prices of food and clothing have fallen, the present charge for indigence can only be explained by the class of causes which we shall find that we are obliged to resort to, in order to account for the maintenance of a high rate of mortality.

The character and extent of the sanitary improvements, made with so much public spirit in Manchester and Salford during the last thirty years, lead to the expectation of a decrease in the annual mortality. This is strengthened by the better condition of the people in many particulars affecting health and life. Their dwellings are improved—the hours of labour are more reasonable—wages are higher—the price of food and clothing is reduced—they have more abundant means of innocent recreation, of education for their children, and of religious instruction. Owing in a great degree to neglect and mismanagement, one half the children born in 1831 died in five years. The chief part of this mortality occurred in the first two years. There is, therefore, reason to fear that it has been little, if at all, reduced by the increase of Infant Schools; for they do not receive children until they are three or four years old. The rate of mortality continues so high, that to ascertain its level and causes is a painful but unavoidable duty. In 1831 I estimated the mean rate of mortality for nine years to 1831 inclusive, in Manchester and Salford, and the then suburban townships of Ardwick, Broughton, Cheetham, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, and Hulme, as 1 in 35·22, or as 28·03 deaths per thousand; in 1831 the rate was 30·05 deaths per thousand. But it must be borne in mind that this rate was reduced by the inclusion of the suburban townships, which continue to be more healthy than the central townships. This apparent rate had improved between 1841–50, when the annual mortality of Manchester, as estimated by Dr. Wm. Farr, was 33 per 1000 living, and in Salford, 28 per 1000. The Registrar-General, in his Seventh Annual Report (1845, p. 338), states the mean duration of life or males in Manchester in 1841 to be 24·2 years, or 16·0

years less than 40·2 years, the duration of life in all England.

The Table in which the Registrar General compared the per centage of annual mortality at each quinquennial period at all ages in 1841, in Manchester, Liverpool, and Surrey, is so instructive that I have placed it in an Appendix (A).

The summary is as follows for all ages :—

Per centage of Mortality at all ages.

	Males.	Females.
Manchester Town Sub-registration Districts .	3·655	3·212
Manchester Country Sub-Districts	2·193	1·971
Liverpool	3·583	3·151
Richmond and Kingston	2·042	1·749
Chertsey and Epsom	1·935	1·680
Croydon	2·236	1·985
Godstone, Reigate, and Dorking	1·536	1·616
Guildford, Farnham, and Hambledon	1·781	1·787
Surrey	1·856	1·756

Confining this retrospect to the general rate of mortality in the first instance, I am enabled, by Mr. David Chadwick, to give (from data furnished to him by the Registrar-General) the following estimate of the deaths per thousand in Manchester and Salford, at successive periods from 1851 to 1858.

	1851.	1852.	1856.	1858.
Manchester	29·49	34·37	30·35	34·09
Salford	25·1	28·11	26·16	34·11

Mr. Royston, the Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, estimates the annual deaths per thousand, through two decennial periods, from 1840, to be on the average as follows :—

	1841 to 1850.	1851 to 1860.
Registration District of Manchester	33	31½
Township of Manchester	36	34
Town of Liverpool	36	33½

‘This shows a reduction in the annual rate of mortality in the district of Manchester of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to every 1000 of the population, which represents a saving of 3500 lives during the last ten years ; the per centage of reduction is greater

in the Township, being at the rate of 2 to every 1000, which arises from the circumstance, that during the last few years, some of the out-Townships have much increased, and become more urban in their character.'

'Being desirous of finding at what period the additional improvement began to take place in Liverpool¹, I examined every year separately, and found the mortality to be as follows :—

		1838.	1839.	1840.
Manchester	: : : : :	36	30½	30½
Liverpool	. : . : .	36	30½	28½'

Mr. David Chadwick finds that in 1854 the death-rate per 1000 on the population of 1851, in thirty-one principal towns, containing a population of nearly seventeen millions, was 24·44. In all England the Registrar-General reports that the deaths are annually at the rate of 23·54 per thousand on the actual population; in country districts 20·26 per thousand; and in town districts 28·16 per thousand. Sixty-one thousand of the deaths in England are referable to the imperfect operations of the sanitary arrangements of our towns. I place on the following page, a Table extracted from Mr. David Chadwick's 'Vital Statistics of Towns,' affording the means of comparison between towns in which the rate of mortality is highest.

That the high rate of mortality in Manchester is still in some degree dependent on the over-crowding of the population in their dwellings, on bad ventilation: want of cleanliness, and on imperfect sanitary arrangement is rendered probable by the great difference between the death-rates in the more salubrious suburban districts, inhabited by a better housed and more moral and comfortable class, and the death-rates in Manchester and Salford separately. This is confirmed by Dr. Greenhow's Report.²

¹ This I consider both disheartening and encouraging — disheartening, to find that we have been passed in the race by our neighbours,—and encouraging, because it shows that the improvements made by the authorities in Liverpool during the last few years are beginning now to bear good fruit. May it stimulate us to 'go and do likewise.'

² See Appendix E.

Population enumerated, 1841 and 1851, and Deaths Registered during the Years 1851-1858.

Registration District.	Population.		Per Centage of Increase.	Deaths.								Average for Three years.
	1841.	1851.		1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	
London (Metropolis Div.)	1,948,417	2,362,236	21.23	55,488	54,638	60,069	73,897	61,942	57,374	59,103	64,122	
Mortality per 1000 ..				23.48		25.42			24.24		27.14	
Birmingham*	138,215	173,951	25.65	4989	4567	4947	6020	4662	4739	5578	5798	
Mortality per 1000 ..				28.68		28.45			27.18		33.31	
Aston*	50,977	66,832	31.14	1554	1470	1634	2055	1598	1521	1903	2095	
Mortality per 1000 ..				23.24		24.44			22.75		31.35	
Liverpool*	223,003	258,236	15.79	8754	8648	8293	10,370	9096	8225	9117	9579	
Mortality per 1000 ..				33.89		31.11			31.85		37.09	
West Derby*	88,680	153,279	72.84	3782	4019	3649	4427	4175	4146	4621	5202	
Mortality per 1000 ..				24.67		23.8			27.04		33.93	
Leeds*	88,741	101,343	14.2	3181	3370	2822	3238	2641	2713	2901	3221	
Mortality per 1000 ..				31.38		27.84			26.77		31.78	
Ecclesall Bierlow*	31,625	37,914	19.88	919	988	1052	1106	1111	1046	1236	1393	
Mortality per 1000 ..				24.23		27.77			27.58		36.78	
Sheffield*	85,293	108,626	21.49	3103	3361	3434	3569	2931	2828	3422	3697	
Mortality per 1000 ..				29.99		33.13			27.39		35.67	
Bradford*	132,161	181,964	37.63	5132	5018	5182	4855	4395	4768	4555	5152	
Mortality per 1000 ..				28.02		28.47			26.2		28.31	
Bristol*	64,266	65,716	2.25	1831	1916	1948	1772	1793	1592	1610	2004	
Mortality per 1000 ..				27.86		29.64			24.07		30.49	
Wolverhampton*	80,721	104,158	29.03	2956	2752	3228	3902	3060	2980	3611	3139	
Mortality per 1000 ..				28.37		30.99			28.61		30.13	
Salford*	70,224	87,523	24.63	2198	2487	2461	2650	2527	2290	2517	2986	
Mortality per 1000 ..				25.1		28.11			26.16		34.11	
Manchester*	192,403	228,433	18.72	6737	7597	7651	7792	7939	6933	7545	7789	
Mortality per 1000 ..				29.49		34.37			30.35		34.09	
The County of Lancaster	1,698,609	2,067,301	21.7	54,928	60,634	59,677	59,288	59,888	56,049	60,811	64,007	
Mortality per 1000 ..				26.56		28.86			27.11		30.96	

* These are Superintendent Registrars' Districts, usually co-extensive with Poor Law Unions.
 General Register Office, Somerset House, 5th January, 1860.

‘The number of deaths’ average in

Manchester	.	.	.	.	.	34	per thousand annually.
Salford	.	.	.	.	.	29	" "
Ardwick,	.	.	.	.	.	25	" "
Cheetham and Crumpsall	.	.	.	.	.	17	" "
Pendleton	.	.	.	.	.	24	" "
Broughton	.	.	.	.	.	15	" "

Whilst this great difference exists in the several townships of the same parish and district, I believe it will be found that as great a disparity in the rate of mortality exists between various parts of each of the said townships.’

Mr. Royston, the Deputy-Treasurer, calls the attention of the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association to the fact published by the Registrar-General in his Sixteenth Annual Report, that the rate of mortality in England varies in the different registration districts from 15 to 36 annual deaths per thousand of population.

‘England and Wales are divided into 624 districts, which are classified as follows :—

In 3 Districts the Annual Mortality was 15 to every 1000.

14	"	"	16	"
47	"	"	17	"
87	"	"	18	"
96	"	"	19	"
111	"	"	20	"
90	"	"	21	"
48	"	(and all England)	22	"
26	"	"	23	"
29	"	"	24	"
24	"	"	25	"
18	"	"	26	"
13	"	"	27	"
18	"	"	28	"
<hr/>			and up to 36	
624				
<hr/>				

These Tables are based on the Mortality in the 10 years, 1841 to 1850, and the population for the same years.

‘It will be seen that there are 64 districts, containing a population of about 1,000,000, in which the mortality

‘Variation of the Death-rate in England, by William Royston.

does not exceed 17 per 1000; and, in reference to these 64 districts, the Registrar-General observes that "the health and the circumstances of the population by no means approach any ideal standard of perfection; and although nature has done much for the inhabitants, the health of the people in those districts admits of improvement; and it may be assumed with certainty that the mortality of the English people, in very variable but generally favourable conditions, does not exceed 17 per 1000; the deaths of 17 in 1000 may therefore be considered, in our present imperfect state, natural deaths, and all the deaths above that number may be referred to artificial causes." According to this rule, it would appear that during the ten years on which these Tables are based, viz. 1841 to 1850, 846,000 more deaths took place than should have done.'

The average mortality of the Township of Manchester, from 1851 to 1860, is, we have seen, estimated by Mr. Royston at 34 per thousand. Before proceeding to separate the elements of which this high rate of deaths is composed, it is necessary to examine the comparative rate of infant mortality during the last thirty years, and its present proportion to the whole rate of deaths.

In 1831 the infant mortality of Manchester was such that I stated that 'more than one-half of the offspring of the poor die before they have completed their fifth year.' In 1841 the Registrar-General reports that out of 100,000 born in Manchester, 49,910 only were alive at six years of age; 50,090 infants having perished in five years. Of these, 38,368 died under two years of age.

The relative duration of life among Males in Manchester, and in all England, was, in 1841, estimated by the Registrar-General as follows (p. 338, Seventh Annual Report):—

Precise Age.	Manchester. England.		Manchester below the average.
	Expectation of Life.		
	Years.	Years.	Years.
0	24·2	40·2	16·0
1	33·1	46·7	13·6
10	40·6	47·1	6·5
20	33·3	39·9	6·6
30	26·6	33·1	6·5
40	20·6	26·6	6·0
50	15·2	20·0	4·8
60	10·3	13·6	3·3
70	6·8	8·5	1·7 ¹
80	4·6	4·9	
90	3·2	2·7	
100	1·2	1·5	

The degree in which this Infant mortality is attributed to crowded dwellings, and a lower physical state of the population, can only be imperfectly estimated by a comparison of the rate in the town and suburban districts. Moral and social causes operate in more than a proportionate degree, with the better physical condition of the inhabitants of these districts, to diminish this mortality of infants. But that preventable sanitary evils, which were legitimate subjects of legislative provision and of municipal administration, were not eradicated in 1841, was only too apparent from the following facts, extracted from the Registrar-General's Seventh Annual Report:—

	1841. Annual Mortality per cent.		Age.
	Males.	Females.	
Manchester — Town Sub-Districts of Registrars, viz.:			
Ancoats	34·637	27·413	0
Deansgate	17·827	16·872	1
St. George	7·829	7·954	2
London Road	5·644	6·046	3
Market Street	4·205	4·415	4
Manchester—Country Sub-Districts of Registrars, viz.:			
Blackley	22·094	15·397	0
Cheetham	7·451	6·327	1
Failsworth	3·004	3·635	2
Newton	2·042	2·353	3
Prestwich	1·723	2·311	4

¹ The facts for Manchester are too few to admit of a comparison above the age of 80.

The number of children living under two years of age was not distinguished in the Census Tables of 1851, and the ages of those living in 1861 have not yet been ascertained. It is not possible, therefore, accurately to compare the three decennial periods from 1841 to 1861 as respects the per centage of deaths under two years of age. This can, however, be done approximatively for those under five up to 1860, by estimating those living under five in 1861 as bearing the same proportion to the whole population as in 1851. The mean of the deaths under five registered from 1851 to 1860, both inclusive, compared with the estimated population of 1860, is the basis of the following statement, as far as it respects 1860.

Infant Mortality of Children under Five Years of Age, from 1841 to 1860, both inclusive.¹

	Living under five years of age.		Deaths under five years of age.		Per centage of Annual Mortality under five years of age.	
	Man- chester.	Salford.	Man- chester.	Salford.	Man- chester.	Salford.
1841	24,917	9648	2788	1031	11·189	10·68
Seven yrs., of which 1841 was the centre.	}		3218	1115	12·908 ^b	11·324 ^c
1851		11,514	3098	1058	10·58	9·18
1860	30,050 ^b	13,798 ^b	3408 ^c	1259 ^c	11·34	9·05

^a This per centage is calculated on the population of 1841.

^b Estimated from population of 1861.

^c The mean of five years, from 1856 to 1860 inclusive.

The rate of infant mortality has continued so high in Manchester during the last thirty years, that it is necessary

¹ In the Ancoats district, inhabited almost exclusively by an operative population, and the smaller shop-keepers supplying them, the deaths under 5 years of age were above the average rate of Manchester in 1850. The population of Ancoats, in 1851, was 73,737; the total deaths in 1850, were 1498; and the deaths under 5 years of age were 785; or they accounted for more than half the mortality of the year. I am not enabled to state the number living under 5.

to a correct estimate of the causes of the mortality at all ages to separate that of infants. When the deaths under five years are deducted from the whole deaths, the rate of mortality is greatly reduced. In the Appendix (B) are some remarks, and a diagram prepared by Mr. William Royston¹, making this result very apparent. In like manner, comparing Brampton in Cumberland with Manchester, the whole death-rate of Brampton is 17 per thousand, as compared with 34 in Manchester; but as in Manchester the deaths under five are 17 per thousand, and in Brampton only 5 per thousand, it follows that 'at all ages the variation is only 5' (i.e. $M. 34 - 17 = 17$ death-rate, and $B. 17 - 5 = 12$: now $M. 17 - B. 12 = 5$), 'being a reduction of the balance against Manchester from 17 to 5 per thousand.' Mr. Royston further gives an interesting Table showing the effect of immigration on the proportion of the population from 15 up to 45 years of age (see Appendix B). He also shows 'that above 5 years and up to 35, the mortality is 50 per cent. greater in Manchester than in Brampton; but that from 35 to 65 years of age, the mortality is 100 per cent. greater; thus proving that the statement of Dr. Farr was no exaggeration, that, in London, Birmingham, and Manchester, the mortality among working men was probably double what it was in the healthy districts.'

What, then, are the causes operating to cause this high rate of mortality in Manchester, after twenty-five years of sanitary improvement in the drainage, water supply, paving, scavenging, and ventilation of the central parts of the town, and in a partial improvement of the condition of houses, the closing of the worst cellar dwellings, and the better state of others?

The mortality is greater in the central than the suburban districts. The least intelligent, civilised, and moral

¹ Variation of the death-rate in England, pp. 5, 6.

part of the population inhabits those central districts. The immigration of labourers is not a simple phenomenon of the introduction of a large class at the most healthy periods of life, if they bring with them semi-barbarous habits, and are unable to resist temptations to brutal excesses, when in receipt of higher wages, and exposed to the temptations of town life. No doubt sanitary police, especially as respects the suppression of cellar dwellings, the inspection and regulation of lodging-houses, the removal of slaughter-houses to the outskirts, the extirpation of nuisances, the periodic cleansing of ashpits and cesspools after brief intervals, the opening of close courts, the sewerage, paving, and scavenging of the city and borough, can be still considerably improved. What has been done should create a just civic pride in completing this great work of municipal improvement.

But a larger part of the inhabitants of the central townships consists of factory operatives; and among them the employment of the married women and girls in mills has a fatal influence on the health and life of infants, by neglect and mismanagement in nursing. This employment of married women in factories also deranges the comfort of the workman's household. He escapes from a slat-ternly home and an ill-cooked meal to the tavern. The price paid for the cheap labour of married women is a high rate of infant mortality, and of waste in drink, fatal to health and life.

Mr. David Chadwick, in his 'Rate of Wages' (p. 5), gives the proportionate number of men, women, boys, and girls in a cotton mill employing 500 persons, and the average wages to each class. There were 95 men, or 19 per cent., at 18s. 6d. average weekly wages; 251 women, or 50·2 per cent., at 10s. 2d. weekly wages; 33 boys, or 6·6 per cent., at 7s. weekly wages; and 121 girls, or 24·2 per cent., at 5s. average weekly wages. The wages of all classes of factory operatives appear to have increased from 10 to 25 per cent. during the last twenty years. It is,

therefore, clear that the employment of women and girls is excessive¹; and that for the reasons previously stated, it tends to promote intemperance, and thus, by a waste of hardly-earned resources, to perpetuate the misdirection of women's work, and with it infant mortality. This is an evil to be cured by the growth of intelligence, and of a higher sense of responsibility and duty among the working classes and mill owners. Legislative interference with the labour of married women could also be applied as a form of protection in well-defined cases. The charge of an

¹ *Proportion and Wages of Adults and Children in a Cotton Mill of 500 Workers.*

Class of Work.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
1. Stokers, engineers, lodge-keepers and warehousemen, mechanics, and porters . . .	20	2	5	...	27
2. Cotton mixing and blowing }	7	...	1	...	8
3. Carding . . .	17	36	4	15	72
4. Self-acting mule spinning . . .	24	...	10	1	35
5. Throstle spinning, winding, and warping . .	7	39	12	11	69
7. Power-loom weavers . . .	10	173	...	92	275
8. Beaming, twisting, and sizing . . .	10	1	1	2	14
	95	251	33	121	500
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Average of Total Wages of Workers in ALL departments taken together . . .	87 17 6	127 11 10	11 11 0	30 5 0	257 5 4
Average Wages to each Person . . .	0 18 6	0 10 2	0 7 0	0 5 0	0 10 3½

infant child is a distinct duty not to be neglected, except under the pressure of one even more urgent.

In all evils, having principally a moral source, like pauperism, or neglect of the nurture or education of children, the degree in which palliatives can be applied without injuriously masking the mischief and postponing the application of efficient remedies is questionable. But the moral and intellectual elevation of the people, by schools and religious training, is a work requiring generations of effort. Parents more lettered and less sensual will be less prone to neglect infants and children of riper age. A population imbued with a religious sense of responsibility would not bear such a burden on the conscience. But is nothing meanwhile to be done, in the name of humanity, to prevent the premature extinction of infant life? Shall we say, that it is better that the more feeble germs of the life of such a sensual race should perish by undue exposure and mismanagement, than that the race itself should degenerate? Or shall we more hopefully say, inspired by the charity which Christ has taught, that these infants are objects of compassionate interference? If they were born one degree lower in the scale of society the parents would be paupers, and they would be in the excellent Industrial School for pauper children at Swinton.

✓ Infant schools, to a great extent, take charge of them at three years of age. In the infant school they are in a well-ventilated room—they are in healthful exercise in various forms of amusement and drill—their manners, temper, tone of thought, and habits of application are under intelligent training. That is a form of interference justified by the results of experience. The infant school, for children from three to five, ought to be self-supporting. There might also be connected with the infant school, in all districts in which married women are much employed from home, a nursery, managed—as a school of domestic training—under the superintendence of the schoolmistress by girls, who should be paid and instructed in infant management. This nursery ought to be entirely self-supporting.

It should provide for the food and nursing of the infants during twelve hours of the day. Establishments of the kind, but capable of much improvement, exist in France. I do not here enter on the simple details of their economy.

On mature reflection I consider them to be legitimate palliatives. They bear the same relation to the management of infants by ignorant, careless, or harsh hirelings, that the infant school does to the old dame school, or the much worse modern dame school.

There remains the important question, in what cases the law should interfere. What are the conditions under which mothers should be allowed to delegate to other persons the personal care of infant children during the first years of nurture, in order to increase the earnings of the family? This subject is one too intricate and extensive for more than a passing allusion here. But in presence of the proportions which the labour of women bears to that of men in factories, and of the rate of infant mortality in Manchester, this question is one deserving consideration.

The employment of girls in manufactories interferes with their domestic training. Factory girls are, to a lamentable extent, ignorant of household management. The Infant Nursery might be a most important school. Married women, besides their inaptitude in cooking and household economy, are away from home during ten or twelve hours in the day; though it may be very questionable how far their work compensates for the want of thrift, for the absence of domestic management, and for the waste of wages in drink and in coarse feeding. The discomfort of the home reacts on the habits of all, and especially of the husband. This discomfort costs far more than the decent proprieties of a well-ordered house. In this vicious circle of cause and effect, there is a destructive force accumulating with the accelerated revolution of this weight of evil, which sweeps before it comfort, peace, morality, health, and life itself.

In 1851, the Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' As-

association of Manchester and Salford said at their annual dinner, that 'there were 600 licensed victuallers in Manchester and Salford, whose annual rental, taken on a moderate scale, amounted to £48,000; paying for assessed taxes, £6000; for income tax, £4800; for licenses, £10,800; for police and highway rates, £2400; for poor-rate, £9000; for gas rent, £9000; for water, £1800; total, £91,800. *He thought those figures were sufficient to show that they should not be treated as an insignificant body.*' 'They employed 3000 servants, whose wages, calculated at the low average of 12s. per week each, amounted to £93,600 per annum.'

There are, says Dr. Lees¹, 1500 (1852) beer-houses in the two boroughs, which he estimates to cost £168,700 per annum. Dr. Lees proceeds, as will be seen, to estimate the whole annual outlay on intoxicating liquors in Manchester and Salford in 1852 at £1,400,000 at least.

A Committee of the Manchester and Salford Temperance

¹ From the best information obtainable, we learn that the 1500 beer-sellers pay annually for rent, at an average of £18 each, £27,000; for poor-rates, police rates, highway rates, and water rates, at the very least, £6500; for gas rent, £3000; for family expenses, viz., eating, drinking, clothing, schooling, and incidental family matters (including the bad debts they complain of), say 25s. per week each establishment, or £97,500; for 1500 servants, being one for each house, and allowing for wages, maintenance, wear and tear, &c., 8s. per week each, or in the aggregate, £31,200, per annum; and for painting, repairing, beautifying, &c., including lamps, signs, breakages, &c., say £2 per annum each, or in the aggregate, £3000; making the total cost of the beer houses per annum, £168,700.

Hence we learn that the costs out of pocket for keeping 600

public houses, is, at a low estimate	£280,680
Ditto for 1500 beer houses	£168,700

Making the total yearly cost of the public-houses and beer-

shops of Manchester and Salford	£455,380
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This sum, being, as we have intimated, for *costs out of pocket*, must necessarily come out of the *profits* of business; and if we allow the drink trade to realise an average profit of 32 per cent., or say, 6s. 5d. in the pound; it follows, that to supply a profit equal to the necessary expenses of maintaining these establishments, the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford must spend in the public-houses and beer-shops, considerably more than £1,400,000 a year!—*Inquiry into the Cost and Consequences of Intoxicating Drinks in Manchester and Salford.* By J. J. Lees, 1852.

Society in 1854 watched during ten successive Sundays 'the houses in which intoxicating drinks are usually sold,' and kept an 'exact report of the number of visits paid to each.' For this purpose the city of Manchester 'was divided into 63 wards, each district superintended by a captain, with one general superintendent over the whole.'

They thus found, as will be seen below¹, that 215,318 Sunday visits were paid to 1437 houses for the purchase of intoxicating liquors, and that among the visitors were 71,699 women and 23,585 children.

If the money expended in the abuse of intoxicating drinks could be diverted to the rent of better houses, probably four-fifths of the families of Manchester and Salford

¹ From the 'Alliance' newspaper of August 10th, 1854. The following is a general summary. It will be seen that while the proceedings of the Committee extended over ten Sundays, yet, as no house was taken twice, a fair average of the attendance at each has been arrived at. The Committee are aware of no particular cause which could operate to render the results of one Sunday's census different from another; and it would have rendered observation much more difficult had not due caution and secrecy been observed. The Committee have every reason to believe in the perfect accuracy of the figures:—

General Summary of Visits during Legal Hours.

Date.	Houses.				Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
April 2	2				936	278	429	1643	
" 9	8				2163	902	51	3116	
" 16	36				9789	5277	851	15,917	
" 23	57				7056	3981	692	11,729	
" 30	95				7078	6378	935	14,391	
May 7	100				6699	4088	1109	11,896	
" 14	234				18,239	9566	2559	30,364	
" 21	329				27,684	16,322	6201	50,207	
" 28	354				25,602	16,299	6528	48,429	
June 4	222				14,878	8518	4230	27,626	
Total	1437				120,124	71,609	23,585	215,318	
	Vaults. 114	Public- house. 127	Beer- house. 746	Total 114 127 746 440	29,568 14,880 51,474 24,208	17,926 7947 27,512 17,726	4147 2835 11,544 5059	51,641 25,662 90,530 47,485	avgr. 433 202 121 106½
Mixed	37	122	281						
Total	151	259	1027	1437	120,124	71,609	23,585	215,318	149½

might afford dwellings containing at least three ample bedrooms. Another less considerable portion would, with the occupation of ten-pound houses, obtain the franchise.

A large number of rate-payers and inhabitants of Manchester agreed to a memorial to the magistrates at their Brewster Sessions, on the 6th of August, 1859. In this memorial they represented that there were in that city 485 licensed victuallers' houses, and 1538 beer-houses. The police had reported that 'no improvement had taken place in the conduct of the licensed victuallers and beer retailers. Of the public-houses, 61 are reported as the resort of thieves and prostitutes, being upwards of 12 per cent. ;' 'and of the beer-shops 68 are similarly reported, or nearly 5 per cent.' 'Of robberies from the person by prostitutes and others, 75 occurred in the premises of licensed victuallers, being nearly $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the number of the houses; and of robberies from the person in beer-houses there were 37 cases, being a percentage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ on the number of the houses.'

The memorialists presented statistics to show that there existed in the city of Manchester in 1858 one place for the sale of intoxicating liquors for every 29 houses; one for every $171\frac{1}{2}$ inhabitants (men, women, and children); 7 such places for every school (including both public and private schools); and 15 to every church or chapel in the city.

Another fact, most material in the consideration of the proper province and object of legislation on the sale of intoxicating liquors transpires in a Table furnished by the Chief Constable, Captain Palin, to Mr. David Chadwick (See Appendix C). While the number of licensed victuallers' houses with or without spirit vaults, was 498 in 1841, it was only 485 in 1859-60, though the vaults attached to these houses had increased one-fourth since 1847. Whereas the beer-houses, which numbered 769 in 1841, had increased to 1646 in 1859-60, or were more than twice as numerous.

The United Kingdom Alliance struggles by various

means against these evils. The mischief, which is one chief source of a revenue¹ of nearly twenty millions, probably causes an outlay of between sixty and seventy millions in the United Kingdom, by far the larger part of which is paid from the earnings of the poor, in a great degree by a waste of those resources, if not by a use of them fatal to health or life, domestic morality and peace; and directly causing crime and disorder.

There is, therefore, little occasion for wonder that in Manchester the Local Alliance Committee obtained 6826 signatures for the enactment of the Maine Law as a permissive measure. The magnitude of the evil is reflected in the extreme form of interference sought. The Grand Jury of the County Palatine, at the Assize held in Liverpool in August, 1859, made the following presentment to the late Baron Watson:—

‘My Lord Judge,—The grand jury of this assize for the county palatine of Lancaster desire to make the following presentment to your lordship: In the charge with which your Lordship opened this assize, you directed the attention of the grand jury to those acts of violence which occupy a prominent place in the calendar. You informed them that it contained “thirty-five cases of cutting, stabbing, and wounding, by which eight persons

¹ Public revenue from Excise for the year ending March 31st, 1861.

	£	s.	d.
Hops	582,727	9	5
Malt	6,208,813	8	10
Spirits	9,225,538	19	10
Sugar used in brewing	180	1	0
	<hr/>		
	£16,017,259	19	1
	<hr/>		
Part also of Licenses	1,492,687	7	3
Income from Customs:—			
Rum	1,733,445	12	6
Brandy	747,150	12	9
Geneva	107,263	6	7
Other sorts of spirits	35,755	5	0
	<hr/>		
	£20,133,562	3	2

had come to their deaths." Your Lordship concluded your **charge** by directing the attention of the jury to those **means** of prevention which might be wisely adopted to **check** the growth of crime. The grand jury have carefully borne in mind both parts of your Lordship's charge. They find that the acts of violence to which your Lordship directed their attention have been of an aggravated description. A large proportion resulted from quarrels commenced within the walls of licensed public-houses, after drinking prolonged for hours, and indeed until it had produced a brutal frenzy. After savage blows struck in the house—sometimes producing severe injury—the combat has been renewed in the yard, or the adjoining road, or the street, and in some cases an unmanly use has been made of knives—stabs, with dangerous bleeding or immediate loss of life, or blows and kicks have been given with such barbarity as to cause death. In cases where the grand jury had not before them evidence of the commencement of the quarrel in a particular public-house, it has been clear that the parties had been infuriated with drink. The grand jury desire emphatically to express their opinion that, apart from the moral mischief which the excessive use of intoxicating drinks occasions in families and in society, all the poisons sold to malefactors, or wantonly or carelessly used, cause far fewer deaths than the unregulated sale of beer or spirits. The chaplains of our gaols have for many years called the attention of the magistrates of this county to drunkenness as the chief source of crime. But the magistrates have only a very limited power over beer-houses, inasmuch as they cannot limit the number of licenses; and their discretion as to the suspension or removal of the license of public-houses is subjected to embarrassing restrictions. It is especially to be regretted that the law does not enable the magistrates to secure the personal residence of the licensed victualler in his public-house. The grand jury, nevertheless, suggest that in all cases of intoxication causing any breach of the peace, the police should be

directed to ascertain, and report to the justices in petty sessions, what were the houses in which the several parties had been permitted to obtain drink in excess. They would urge that the justices should pursue these inquiries, so as to impress on all who are intrusted with the sale of intoxicating liquors that they become parties to disorder—to much moral mischief—to breaches of the peace and acts of brutal violence, ending in homicide—by permitting drink to be taken in excess. They therefore frustrate the intentions of the legislature—that the license should be held on condition of co-operation with the justices of the peace to prevent the abuse of intoxicating drinks, and should be withdrawn if this condition were not fulfilled. The grand jury conceive that the justices in petty sessions may be strengthened in the discharge of such duties if, from this assize, their attention be called to all those cases of violence caused by intoxication, and commencing in public-houses, which have been sent for trial by your Lordship, and that they be requested to consider whether they should take such measures with respect to the licenses of such publicans as may issue in their suspension or removal. Some such immediate exercise of the authority of the justices, followed by a vigorous and persevering administration of the law, has become indispensable. The grand jury, however, feel that if these efforts were successful they would leave untouched the mischievous influences of beer-houses, kept by a ruder class of persons than the licensed victuallers. Either, on the one hand, the sale of beer and spirituous liquors may be safely made an open trade, both without reference to the character of the dealers or to any guarantee for their good conduct; or, if such a trade cannot be suffered without control, then the security which the legislature has required from the licensed victuallers should be rendered thoroughly effectual, and extended to beer-houses. Such security should be sought, not only in the provisions of the statute, but also by an administration of the law, prompt, earnest, and free from personal or party favour or interest. The

present law neither effectually promotes wholesome restraint, nor is it consistent with an unfettered trade. It is administered by two classes of functionaries, on two conflicting ill-defined principles, so as to cause a confusion most injurious to those who are supported by manual labour, and to become a fruitful source of crime. The grand jury are of opinion that the laws as to the sale of intoxicating drinks in beer-houses and public-houses should be assimilated, and that the authority administering the law should be made uniform, and should be such as to secure a prompt, pure, and faithful enforcement of the intention of the legislature. The grand jury venture to say that no graver question of domestic legislation awaits the action of the executive government. The grand jury cannot conclude this presentiment without expressing their earnest concurrence with your Lordship as to the supreme importance which you attached to all the moral means for the prevention of crime afforded by the religious bringing up of our youth, by private example, and by efficient schools. They likewise desire to rejoice with your Lordship in the marked success which has hitherto attended the institutions of late created, for the reformation especially of females and of juvenile offenders. They would further urge that the associations of "patronage," which aid the reformed adult prisoner, on his discharge, to obtain an honest livelihood by work, deserve confidence, and that an immediate extension of such societies is rendered desirable by the practical abolition of the punishment of transportation.

'J. P. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, *Foreman.*'

I cannot hesitate, therefore, to attribute the present high rate of mortality in Manchester and Salford in a great degree to intemperance. But one fertile source of this intemperance, as well as a consequence of it in the vicious circle of causation, is, I repeat, the excessive employment of women in the manufactories of the cotton trade. This explains the continuance of the high rate of infant

mortality, notwithstanding that sanitary improvements have been so general and efficient as to have reduced the frequency and violence of epidemic diseases in Manchester since 1847. The chief means of improving the health and prolonging the life of the poorer classes now consist in the elevation of moral and religious feeling, and of general intelligence. The withdrawal of a large part of the married women from work out of their own homes, except in cases of absolute necessity, is indispensable to improve the domestic training of girls. The radical cure for an excessive infant mortality lies in the same power of the wife over her household which will enable her to wean her husband from the tavern. Crime and disease will be proportionately diminished, and the annual death-rate will be reduced. This excessive employment of married women is neither an unavoidable necessity in factory work, nor needed for the sufficiency of the income of families in the cotton district; but, on the contrary, it is a wasteful source of expense, and a cause of intemperance, disease, and death.

The power to issue licenses should be vested in a Surveyor-General, not liable to political influence, aided by the police and an efficient staff of inspectors, co-operating with the county and borough Magistrates, but independent of them. The license should no longer confer a value on property held by a brewer or landed proprietor, but should be granted to the licensed victualler personally, as a man of approved good character, and should be revocable by the Surveyor-General. On complaint of Justices of the Peace, or of the Grand or Petty Jury, or Chairman of Quarter Sessions, or on the recommendation of any Jury as to any serious disorder, crime, or abuse of privilege, the Surveyor-General should have no option as to the revocation of the license, unless, after inquiry, he convinced the authority complaining of some serious defect in the evidence. Holders of licenses should be subject to a preliminary warning from the Surveyor-General, which should be communicated to the Local Jus-

tices, and by them to the Police; and to a second warning, which should be advertised in the local papers at the expense of the holder. If after this second warning complaint were made, slighter offences should cause the withdrawal of the license. No beer-houses should be held without such a license. All holders of licenses should be regarded as persons selected for their good character and capacity to co-operate with the Police for the prevention of drunkenness.

The power of the licensed victuallers to prevent the adoption of such a system arises from two causes. It is probable that the return of the House of Commons in a general election costs from £600,000 to one million of money. A large part of this sum is spent in besotting the lower class of voters with drink. The power of the licensed victuallers in a contested election is, therefore, not small. The brewers in town and country make the public-houses the spouts through which they empty their vats. A large brewing firm is prosperous in proportion to the number of licensed public-houses which it possesses or rents. The spirit dealers, in like manner, by advances of money—possession of houses—and otherwise, provide for the attractions of the gin-shops. The capital invested, and the vast imperial revenue derived from the abuse of intoxicating liquors, render any effort to save the working classes from this source of ruin to their comfort, health, or life, a question which arrays against it formidable interests. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would, however, deliberately seek to raise a revenue at so frightful a sacrifice of national well-being. The horrors of excessive mortality and crime, clearly attributable mainly to the expenditure of upwards of sixty millions annually on beer, spirits, and tobacco, are now brimful and run over. The progress of sanitary improvement unmasks them. Drunkenness must be regarded by the law as a misdemeanour endangering the public peace, health, and life, and filling the criminal calendar with offenders. It must be restrained by a reformed license system, faithfully ad-

ministered by a firm, equal, and vigilant central authority. The misdemeanour must also be punished summarily. The stocks were a good method of expressing a public loathing of the self-degrading character of this offence. The working men ought to know, that the right application of the money now ruinously expended would raise a larger number of them within the £10 franchise, than would, according to the calculations of its advocates, be admitted by the reduction of the franchise to a £6 rating qualification. No man who has not this power of self-restraint ought to possess the franchise.

In every class of workmen there are frugal men who save,—who establish the building clubs—become possessors of their own cottages—or, with a provident forethought, even build several dwellings. The first step towards these results is often a deposit in the savings' bank; though, especially in rural districts, a secret hoard, hid in crevices of walls—in mattresses—under a flag in the floor, or in some other 'nook'—is a favourite device.¹ The building club is attractive, by the high rate of interest which is given, and the generally sound security and good management of these clubs. They let out the fund at a high rate of interest, to aid workmen and others building cottages, on which they take security by holding the building-lease, with a promissory note. The regularity of factory-work affords a check to extreme intemperance during the week, but this is often more than compensated by gross feeding and drinking on Saturday night and Sunday. The handicraft trades, out-door labourers' occupations, and work in mines, are much more embarrassed by the absence of the men 'on a spree.' Intemperance is not, however, the habit of a class. The wives and families of all classes of workmen are much employed in mills. It is not, therefore, possible to trace in the classification of

¹ One of the colliers of a Lancashire estate built several cottages. His wife kept his own and his sons' hoards. When it was necessary to pay the builders, she produced the money from hoards hidden in this way in many different parts of the cottage.

depositors in the savings' bank any marked distinction in favour of any class, either as to the average amount belonging to each depositor, or as to the number of depositors. The most numerous class in the Manchester and Salford Bank for Savings on the 20th November, 1861, was that of domestic servants (24,697, with an average deposit of £24); then clerks, shopmen, warehousemen, porters, and their wives (22,189, with an average of £24); the whole body of operatives employed in silk and cotton spinning and weaving, and in calico-printing, bleaching, dyeing, in packing and making-up, with their wives, had opened 22,493 accounts, of which 5083 remained open in Nov. 20th, 1861, containing £143,515 16s. 3d., with an average deposit of rather more than £28. In like manner, 14,624 mechanics and handicraftsmen had opened accounts, of which 4024 remained open on the 20th Nov., 1861, containing £113,703 0s. 10d., or an average deposit of £28.

The provident members of each class are, therefore, probably more numerous in proportion as their occupation places them either in the families, or under the immediate influence, by personal intercourse in the warehouse, or in their work, of members of the middle classes. Apart from this influence, no other source of a great difference in the proportionate numbers of frugal members appears to exist in any class.

But it is gratifying to observe that the amount of deposits relatively to the whole population has steadily increased. Adopting the estimate of the Manchester Statistical Society, and of Mr. David Chadwick, as to the population of Manchester, Salford, and the adjoining districts, in the decennial periods from 1831 to 1861, and reducing this population to the decennial periods from the opening of the bank in 1827, the following is an approximate result :—

Year.	Population.	Accounts open.	On Inhabitants.	Balance.	Average amount of balance.	Rate per head of total balance to whole population.
				£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1827	170,000	4998	34	144,911	28 19 11	0 17 0
1837	270,000	10,245	26	298,342	29 2 5	1 1 0
1847	370,000	21,733	17	580,915	26 14 7	1 11 1
1857	446,000	39,333	11½	986,319	25 1 6	2 4 0
1860	464,000	47,337	9½	1,228,500	25 19 0	2 12 11

The number of frugal persons who confide their savings to this bank, and the amount of their whole deposits, have, therefore, steadily increased relatively to the whole population, though the average amount of the balance on each account has diminished. Those who deposited in from 1827 to 1837 were evidently of a class less mixed with the mass of the operative population, and probably more under the personal influence of the middle class than after 1837. Setting the increase of benefit and building clubs against the previous custom of hiding hoards, it seems probable that the sum saved in 1860 per head is three times as great as in 1827.

In the year following the second edition of the account of the 'Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes of Manchester,'—a District Provident Society was formed, on the type of one founded in Liverpool at the suggestion of Mrs. Fry, and the operations of which I had, with my friend, Mr. William Langton, carefully examined. After preliminary meetings summoned by the Borough-reeve in the Town Hall, in February, 1833, a general meeting was held in the Exchange dining-room, under the presidency of the Chief Constable, at which resolutions were adopted embodying the principles and defining the practical operations of the Society. The design was to collect the transient savings of the working classes for the purchase of clothing, furniture, and fuel; or for rent; or as a preliminary to more permanent deposits in the savings' banks. This was accomplished by a weekly visitation and collection from house to house. The savings might at any time be withdrawn, in whole or in part. The

checks were well devised, and worked without fraud or friction. It was, however, found necessary to employ a paid agency to a great extent, owing to the increasing tendency of the more wealthy inhabitants to live in the remoter suburbs and in the country,—a tendency now greatly increased by the greater facilities for locomotion, especially by railways. There was also a Mendicity department, conducted by a machinery closely resembling that of London.

I extremely regret to observe that the operations of this most useful Society have gradually become more languid ; for, unless the City Missionaries were also agents of the Society, their labours do not, in promoting frugality, supersede it. I will not here attempt to determine whether the work of the City Missionaries ought not to include that which has been hitherto the peculiar work of the agents of the Provident Society. I incline to think that the City Missionaries would greatly increase their own opportunities for intercourse with the poor, and augment their usefulness, by taking up this now comparatively neglected sphere of beneficent labour. In the Reports for 1853-4-5, it is stated that 'the Society originally contemplated the encouragement of habits of provident economy among the poor by means of periodical house-to-house collections of small deposits through the agency of volunteer district visitors.' This machinery has 'steadily decreased in efficiency. It is not without regret that the Committee have felt themselves unable to check this decline. They are willing to believe that a plan which the Society was formerly amongst the most prominent to encourage, has more recently been extensively adopted by individuals in connection with the various congregational associations, and similar institutions in the town ; and that, though they have fewer names on their roll of visitors, there may be no real diminution in the kindly intercourse between the rich and poor of this great town, which it was the Society's aim to foster. Nevertheless they conceive that it would not be difficult for any one who is already engaged

in regular visitation to superadd to his or her engagement the charge of one or more sections in the Provident Society's district map.'

Certain modifications in the action of the Society, and its annual results, are recorded in the Note below.¹

The preceding facts and deductions concentrate in one main conclusion.

The removal of purely physical evils, such as inordinate toil, a bad sanitary condition of the town or neighbourhood, even the better condition of the dwelling, higher wages, cheaper food and clothing, however important as

¹ In order in some degree to provide a means of supplying, as near as possible to the homes of the poor, the desired opportunity of saving, the Society in 1848 initiated a system of district dépôts for the receipt of small sums. With one exception these dépôts have been highly successful, and, subject to a temporary check in cases of unavoidable removal, have succeeded in attaching increasing bodies of depositors, whose individual payments are, generally speaking, regular though often of very small amount.

The Society now maintains dépôts in St. Michael's district, in Ancoats, in Grosvenor Street, Lower Mosley Street, and Pendleton. Each is kept open under the superintendence of two at least on each occasion of the members or officers of the Society, from seven to half-past eight, every Monday night.

The following Table shows the Amount deposited with and withdrawn from the Society in each year, from its formation to the end of 1860.

Year.	Deposits.			Repayments.			Year.	Deposits.			Repayments.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1833	351	10	8	110	13	8	Forward	69,134	3	10½	68,640	10	4½
1834	4169	7	11½	3297	4	3½	1848	2088	11	10	2045	0	3½
1835	7856	17	8	7059	6	10	1849	2256	7	11	2295	9	2
1836	8489	1	9½	8964	17	4½	1850(a)	1759	11	8	1876	19	5½
1837	4735	19	5½	5084	14	7½	1851	1353	15	10	1420	14	5½
1838	5582	19	2½	5482	9	6½	1852	1333	16	6	1352	2	0
1839	4468	14	10½	4843	19	9	1853	1229	13	8½	1282	2	11½
1840	4696	11	9	4561	17	1½	1854	954	6	5	970	14	5
1841	4249	12	11	4470	3	7	1855	1001	14	9	1003	1	10½
1842	3200	13	5	3142	15	0	1856	1455	13	7	1365	16	10
1843	4935	7	3	4702	14	7½	1857	1843	2	6	1781	18	8
1844	5053	13	4	4815	8	10½	1858	2093	2	7	1906	5	1½
1845	5157	5	8	5171	15	7	1859	3286	17	7	3077	3	3
1846	3847	1	1	4192	19	6	1860	3464	0	8½	3482	18	6½
1847	2339	6	10	2739	10	0							
	69,134	3	10½	68,640	10	4½	Total	93,254	19	5½	92,500	17	5

(a) No Premium given from this date.

elements of the comfort of the working classes, do not insure their well-being. If the population of the lowest faubourgs of Paris had in 1830 or in 1848 permanently taken possession of the Quartier St. Germain, or converted the Palace of the Tuileries and the Louvre into a Phalanstère, that revolution would not only not have insured their welfare, but would certainly have precipitated them into the direst misery amidst the ruins of society. But even temporarily, before the catastrophe was complete, and while they enjoyed a possible revenue from the sale of the crown jewels, and of the articles of luxury and *vertu* which they had not wantonly destroyed, they would merely have converted the palaces into styes like their own lodgings '*au cinquième*.'

The removal of physical evils is indispensable to the elevation of the working classes. But in itself, though followed in the mixed constitution of man by a certain amount of moral advantage, this change consists more in the removal of obstacles to moral progress, and in the provision of a secure foundation for the higher and nobler structure.

It is, on the contrary, in the nature of that which improves the mind and raises the moral character of a class, to secure a triumph over physical evils. Neither form of beneficent labour should be neglected. Each co-operates with the other. But that which derives its power from mental, moral, and religious agencies is incalculably stronger. It is, therefore, to education and to religion that society must mainly owe its progress.

Manchester and Salford have, therefore, in thirty years made vast progress, not only in population and wealth, but in social organisation. The municipal authority has been administered with wisdom and vigour. The sanitary condition of both towns is greatly improved. The wages and prices of clothing and food of the working population place them in a position commanding a much larger share of the comforts of life. The hours of labour are reduced to a reasonable limit. The means of innocent recreation

are greatly increased. The provision for public worship, the City Mission, the Provident Society, the Savings' Banks, and the growth of the number and efficiency of Day Schools, conspire as moral forces to penetrate the sensual habits of a population which has continued to accumulate from the rudest districts by immigration. Yet the waste of earnings on coarse feeding, and the abuse of intoxicating liquor, is maintained, though it degrades its victims to worse and more crowded dwellings, and to the loss of home comfort and wholesome diet, and subjects married women to work in mills. The ill-ventilated, uncleanly, crowded cottage, surrounded by influences which depress the health, in a close court or narrow back street, is the price paid for a misuse of earnings sufficient to pay the rent of a house, with three ample bed-rooms, in a salubrious neighbourhood,—to enable the wife to remain in charge of her household duties,—especially to nurture her infant children—and to provide wholesome food, innocent recreation for the family, and regular schooling for the children.

The well-paved and sewered streets, the improving or closing of cellars, the increase of proper conveniences to cottages, an ample supply of pure water, and the suppression of the grossest nuisances, unmask the evils which still so depress the health of the population that the rate of mortality is 34 in 1000 in 1860, and the rate of infant mortality 11·34 per cent. under five years of age, having been 11·189 in 1841. Those evils now are mainly the habits of an unlettered sensual population, which has not yet learned self-restraint, and fails to second the efforts of a spirited and intelligent municipal power, by that right use of the more abundant means of well-being, which can only be fully enjoyed by a thoroughly civilised and Christian people.

It was because I had always foreseen this result, that I attached more importance to the moral expedients for the extirpation of pauperism and crime when I wrote in 1831, than to the influence of restraints in the adminis-

tration of the law. Such restraints are not without their moral consequences; and I co-operated with zeal in the extirpation of able-bodied pauperism in the Eastern Counties and in the Metropolis, by the workhouse system. But in the manufacturing districts of the North, the forms of able-bodied pauperism were not, as in the agricultural districts, and in the cities fed from them, remains of the helotry of the middle ages, aggravated by recent mal-administration. In the North, they were attributable, except in crises of trade, to exactly the same causes as those which still keep up a high rate of mortality in the towns. A semi-barbarous population, rapidly accumulated from the rudest regions, has been disciplined by the organisation of labour and the Police of the municipalities, but has not learned self-restraint, providence, or the real sources of domestic and social well-being. That is the lesson which this population has to learn by every form of instruction and training before the rate of mortality can fall nearer to the average of all England.

The efficacy of the moral forces at work is wasted by the constant accumulation of obstacles. The population of Manchester and Salford and the adjacent townships¹ has increased from 1801 to 1811 at the rate of 20·5 per cent.; from 1821 to 1831, at 34·5; from 1831 to 1841, at 41; from 1841 to 1851, at the rate of 28·77 per cent.; while in all England the rate of increase in these fifty years has never exceeded 18 per cent. in any decennial period, and has ranged from 13 per cent. to 18. It is clear, therefore, that the growth of the population in Manchester and Salford has been to a great extent due to immigration. This population has been derived from Ireland, from the hills and moors of the Pennine chain, of the border, of Derbyshire, and of Wales. The immigrants have been singularly rude. The Irish have commonly filtrated through Liverpool; the hill migrants through some other of the manufacturing towns and villages of Lancashire.

¹ 'Rate of Wages.' By Mr. David Chadwick, p. 33.

This preliminary training has only broken them to work at out-door labour or in factories. They have not been in any other sense civilised by it. They had lived in a semi-savage state in Irish cabins, or moorland huts, or the rudest cottages built of boulders, one storey high. They had exchanged the solitude of a cottier's, or shepherd's, or herdsman's, or lead miner's, or quarryman's life for the throngs of the manufacturing districts. The meagre diet of potatoes, or oatmeal and bacon, or 'brassy,'¹ was succeeded by that purchased by the work of the wife and children in the mill, and of the father in the building trades or out-door labour. A semi-barbarous race seldom resists the satanic attraction of the 'firewater,' and is indifferent to the domestic comfort of a well-furnished and well-ordered home. High wages, bad example, and constant temptation, together with the waste of force caused by the exchange of the air of the mountain or plain for that of the close city, and the expenditure of animal energy in toil, render the use of beer, if it could be taken in moderation, and in combination with wholesome food, perhaps the best support for the strength of a workman. But the abuse follows close on the heels of the use, especially in such a race. The brain is inflamed by excess; a vicious habit is formed. The vendors of intoxicating liquors to a constant succession of uncivilised immigrants are now the hostile force with which all the higher moral agencies of society have to contend. They must be defeated, or no further progress can be made.

The immigration of this uncivilised population everywhere throughout Lancashire keeps down the level of the condition of the working classes, but it has been indispensable to the progress of trade. Mr. Robert Hyde Greg, in the evidence embodied by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in his 'Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain' in 1834, said, 'Supposing that all external competition' for labour 'could have been shut out, wages

¹ The mutton of sheep found dead on the moors.

might have temporarily advanced so much as to have transferred our manufactures to other places,—perhaps to the coal districts of Wales, or to Ireland itself, where cheap labour is found united to the noblest falls of water. What would then have been the rate of labour, and the amount of the poor's rates? If the competition of Irish labour has done anything towards averting such a catastrophe, its tendency has been to raise, not to depress, the rate¹ of the wages 'of labour.' Mr. Houldsworth doubts whether, without this immigration, the trade 'could' have met 'foreign competition',² especially that of the Americans. It is clear that the entire '*plant*' of the trade in mills, docks, reservoirs, mines, roads, canals, railways, and other great works, as well as warehouses and cottages, must have cost a vastly greater outlay of capital. Lancashire has built up its present power with the help of a rude uncivilised immigrant class. In the evidence which I gave to Sir George Cornwall Lewis in 1834, I said,³ 'The introduction of masses of inhabitants into the large towns of England, greatly below the civilisation common to its working classes, is an evil which much economical benefit would be required to compensate. This colonisation⁴ is not without its influence on the manners of the inhabitants.' 'A knowledge of the minimum of comfort, and of the means of subsistence upon which life can be supported, is thus obtained.' I attributed 'a great deal of the discomfort in the habitations of the working classes of Manchester, and the adoption of an inferior diet, to the example of the Irish,' and of other rude immigrant classes. 'In some of the neighbouring towns, in all other respects similarly situated to Manchester, but not colonised by Irish, the dwellings of the poor contain more furniture, and are cleaner, and their diet is superior to that of a great portion of the population of Manchester.' In the interval since 1834, I have had abundant opportunity to

¹ Sir George Cornwall Lewis's Report, p. 30.

² Sir George C. Lewis's Report, p. 40.

³ P. 35.

⁴ Ibid. p. 39.

examine the bases of this opinion, as applicable, not simply to the Irish, but to all other semi-civilised immigrants; and with this qualification, I have no doubt whatever that the moral influence of *the immigration of semi-barbarous masses is prejudicial, by example, and personal intercourse, to the habits of the population with which they mingle.*

These classes are also strange impediments to the salutary influence of the higher moral agencies. The ignorant, unkempt, and stultish children of a half-brutish class of immigrants from the moors or border, render progress in a school difficult, or if they are numerous, almost impossible. A school encumbered with this burden exhibits classes of half-savage scholars, big rude dullards in the lower classes, some disorder, much inattention, none of the higher moral condition which is detected at a glance by an experienced eye. In the street they are wild and boisterous, if not turbulent. In like manner, the City Missionary finds a street of such families exchanging toil for the tavern, and mingled labour and excess for supine sloth. They keep their children with great irregularity at school, if they send them there at all. Except the Roman Catholics, they are seldom seen in a place of religious instruction and worship. The physician finds their houses, courts, alleys, and barracks, dens of fever.

These are evils to surmount which generations of effort are required. The Day and Sunday Schools must do their work with children. The Evening School and Mechanics' Institution must combine their functions for youth between school age and manhood with the precedent and co-operating influences of civilisation. A second generation of educated parents will not be indifferent to the schooling of their children. A third may be willing to make more abundant provision for it; and with a higher capacity for the discharge of such a duty, may claim some control of elementary schools, proportionate to its more abundant contribution to their support. With the growth of intelligence, there will, doubtless, be an increase of the power of self-restraint, and a partial triumph of mind over sense.

This cannot occur in a Christian country, without the awakening of the conscience from its sleep, to the acknowledgment of the higher responsibilities of our being. Then religion will be at hand, with the revelation which brought life and immortality to light.

APPENDIX A:

FIRST PERIOD.—Mortality in Manchester, Liverpool, and Surrey.

ANNUAL MORTALITY per Cent.

Age.	Mancunian Town Sub-Districts.		Mancunian County Sub-Districts.		Liverpool.		Rochdale and Knowler.		Crewe and Nantwich.		Carnegie.		Georgetown, Remington, and Dooton.		Littleborough, Parnham, and Haslingden.		Scares.		Age.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
0	14,767	13,208	7,431	6,244	14,377	13,771	5,504	4,556	4,522	3,856	6,435	6,007	4,123	3,323	4,370	3,818	4,772	4,106	0
1	13,237	11,972	6,227	5,765	13,771	12,597	4,877	4,340	7,153	6,64	1,871	1,440	6,681	6,53	6,011	5,727	4,774	4,320	1
2	11,869	10,754	5,553	5,005	12,597	11,869	4,340	3,948	6,64	6,14	1,000	858	5,727	5,53	5,005	4,727	4,428	4,080	2
3	10,754	9,754	5,005	4,556	11,869	11,010	3,948	3,594	5,553	5,117	858	774	5,005	4,727	4,428	4,106	3,818	3,490	3
4	9,754	8,754	4,556	4,106	11,010	10,101	3,594	3,244	5,117	4,774	774	692	4,428	4,106	3,818	3,504	3,204	2,904	4
5	8,754	7,754	4,106	3,648	10,101	9,201	3,244	2,894	4,774	4,340	692	608	4,106	3,818	3,504	3,204	2,904	2,604	5
6	7,754	6,754	3,648	3,198	9,201	8,301	2,894	2,544	4,340	3,948	608	524	3,818	3,504	3,204	2,904	2,604	2,304	6
7	6,754	5,754	3,198	2,742	8,301	7,401	2,544	2,194	3,948	3,594	524	440	3,504	3,204	2,904	2,604	2,304	2,004	7
8	5,754	4,754	2,742	2,286	7,401	6,501	2,194	1,844	3,594	3,244	440	356	3,204	2,904	2,604	2,304	2,004	1,704	8
9	4,754	3,754	2,286	1,830	6,501	5,601	1,844	1,494	3,244	2,894	356	272	2,904	2,604	2,304	2,004	1,704	1,404	9
10	3,754	2,754	1,830	1,374	5,601	4,701	1,494	1,144	2,894	2,544	272	188	2,604	2,304	2,004	1,704	1,404	1,104	10
11	2,754	1,754	1,374	918	4,701	3,801	1,144	844	2,544	2,194	188	104	2,304	2,004	1,704	1,404	1,104	804	11
12	1,754	1,254	918	662	3,801	2,901	844	594	2,194	1,844	104	60	2,004	1,704	1,404	1,104	804	504	12
13	1,254	898	662	406	2,901	2,001	594	344	1,844	1,494	60	26	1,704	1,404	1,104	804	504	204	13
14	898	642	406	250	2,001	1,101	344	94	1,494	1,144	26	12	1,404	1,104	804	504	204	104	14
15	642	486	250	194	1,101	645	94	48	1,144	844	12	6	1,104	804	504	204	104	64	15
16	486	330	194	138	645	389	48	22	844	594	6	2	804	504	204	104	64	28	16
17	330	274	138	82	389	233	22	10	594	344	2	0	504	204	104	64	28	12	17
18	274	218	82	26	233	177	10	4	344	289	0	0	204	104	64	28	12	0	18
19	218	162	26	10	177	121	4	0	289	233	0	0	104	64	28	12	0	0	19
20	162	106	10	4	121	65	0	0	233	177	0	0	64	28	12	0	0	0	20
21	106	70	4	0	65	39	0	0	177	121	0	0	28	12	0	0	0	0	21
22	70	44	0	0	39	23	0	0	121	65	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	22
23	44	28	0	0	23	13	0	0	65	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
24	28	16	0	0	13	7	0	0	39	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
25	16	10	0	0	7	4	0	0	23	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
26	10	6	0	0	4	2	0	0	13	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
27	6	4	0	0	2	1	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
28	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
29	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
30	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	44
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47
48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	51
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54
55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	55
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	56
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	59
60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60
61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	61
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62
63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	63
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	64
65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	68
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	69
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70
71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	71
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	72
73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	73
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	74
75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	75
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	77
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	78
79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	79
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	80
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	81
82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	82
83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	83
84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84
85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	85
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	86
87																			

Manchester Town Sub-districts are — Ancoats, Deansgate, St. George, London Road, Market Street,

Manchester Town sub-districts are — accounts, Deansgate, St George, Lombard Road, Market Street, Newmarket, Piccadilly, Portland Quay, Victoria.

Manchester Country Sub-districts are — Blackley, Cheetham, Failsworth, Newton, Prestwich, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford, Wigan.

† Liverpool comprises the whole of the Liverpool district.

Liverpool comprises the whole of the Liverpool district. The facts after the age of 25 are too few and uncertain to deserve attention in any of the districts. **The results are not given here for Manchester.**

as results are not given for Macdonald, 10, and so of other ages.

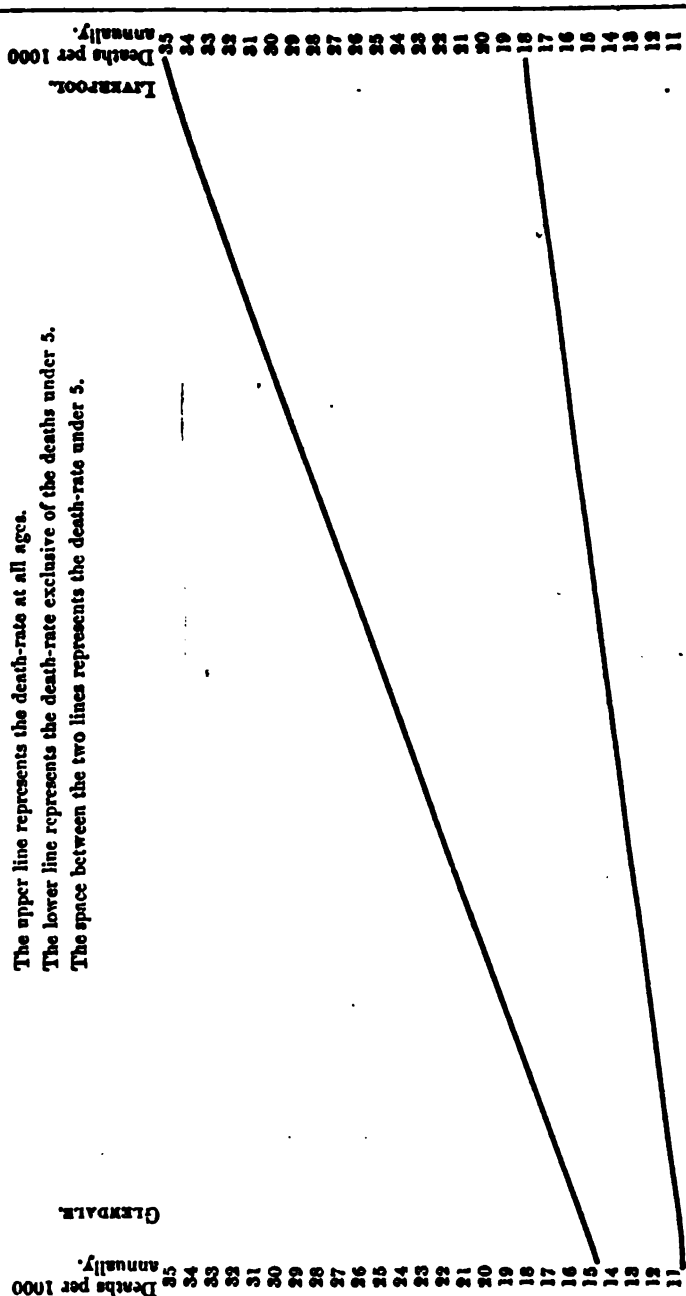
NOTE.—The mortality against the age of 5 is the mortality amongst persons of the age of 5 and under 10, and so of other ages.

(Extracted from pp. 332-3 of Seventh Annual Report of Registrar-General, 1846.)

APPENDIX B.

* It is well known that the chief cause of the excessive mortality in large towns is the deaths of children under 5 years of age; this first induced me to think that it might be interesting to show the death line under 5 years, and I have accordingly done so. The upper line of the following diagram indicates the death-rate at all ages, beginning with Glendale, in Northumberland, with 15 deaths per 1000, and ending with Liverpool, with 35 deaths per 1000,—so that we have here a difference of 20 per 1000 between the two extremes. The lower line indicates the deaths exclusive of those under the age of 5 years, and shows a rate of 11 per 1000 for Glendale, and 18 for Liverpool,—thus proving that in Glendale the deaths under 5 are only 4 per 1000, while in Liverpool they are 17, which is represented by the space between the two lines. These being the facts, we have thus reduced the difference in the mortality from 20 to 7 per 1000,—proving very clearly that it is the deaths under the age of 5 years which are the chief cause of the great variation in the death-rate,—of these above one-half die under one year of age, and nearly a quarter from one to two. These calculations are based on the deaths for five years, viz. 1851 to 1855, and the population of the census of 1851.

The upper line represents the death-rate at all ages.
 The lower line represents the death-rate exclusive of the deaths under 5.
 The space between the two lines represents the death-rate under 5.



APPENDIX B (*continued*).

* We will now endeavour to ascertain at what other periods of life the death-rate is excessive in large towns; and, in doing so, we will compare our own city, in which the rate at all ages is 34 per 1000, with Brampton, in Cumberland, where the rate is 17 per 1000; in Manchester the deaths under 5 are 17 per 1000, and in Brampton only 5 per 1000,—so that at all ages the variation is 17 per 1000; but above the age of 5, the variation is only 5,—being a reduction of the balance against Manchester from 17 to 5 per 1000. Before proceeding, it may be as well to premise that in contrasting the mortality in different places many disturbing causes may arise. The most important is that which springs from the difference in the proportion of persons at the same ages; because if in one place we have a greater proportion of the population at those ages which are the most healthy, as a matter of course the mortality in those places will be the lowest; hence those towns that are sustained and enlarged by immigration will have a greater per centage of the population at the healthy ages, which will tend to reduce the rate of mortality from what it would have been but for this immigration. In Liverpool it is calculated that this cause makes a difference of six deaths per 1000 per annum. To show the effect of this immigration, it may not be out of place to state that without it Liverpool would soon decrease,—in the 5 years ending 1858 the deaths exceeded the births by 55. But the mere decrease in the population would be the least important feature; it would so alter the character and proportions of the population as regards its age, that in a few years there would not be a sufficient number of adults to carry on the business of the town.

* Let us now proceed with our comparison of Manchester with Brampton: the following Table shows the proportion of the population in each place at the various ages in 1851, and that the per centage of the population under the age of 15 was greater in Brampton than in Manchester; from the age of 15 and up to 45 the per centage is larger in Manchester; and after 45, the scale turns again in favour of Brampton;—thus proving the effect of immigration, and the ages at which it takes place. In this Table I have also given the rate of mortality at the various ages in both towns, which shows the periods of life at which the remaining portion of the excess in the mortality takes place. We have named how much arises under 5 years of age, and now we find that above 5 years and up to 35 the mortality is 50 per cent. greater in Manchester than in Brampton; but that from 35 to 65 years of age the mortality is 100 per cent. greater;—thus proving that the statement of Dr. Farr was no exaggeration,—“that in London, Birmingham, and Manchester, the mortality among working men was probably double what it was in the healthy districts by which they were surrounded.”

APPENDIX B (continued).

Table showing the Per Centage of the Population, and the Deaths at the following Ages, in Manchester and in Brampton. The Population used is that of 1851, and the Deaths the Average of the Years 1850, 1851, and 1852.

	Under 5 Years.	5 to 10 Years.	10 to 15 Years.	15 to 25 Years.	25 to 35 Years.	35 to 45 Years.	45 to 55 Years.	55 to 65 Years.	
MANCHESTER, Population 228,433.	28,652	23,889	23,239	48,483	39,447	29,250	19,337	10,066	Population at each age.
	12.54	10.45	10.17	21.22	17.26	12.8	8.46	4.45	Per centage at each age on total population.
BRAMPTON, Population 11,323.	1,496	1,339	1,287	2,100	1,539	1,208	989	665	Population at each age.
	13.21	11.82	11.36	18.54	13.76	10.66	8.73	5.87	Per centage at each age on total population.
MANCHESTER, Deaths 7,125	3,532	289	133	347	502	513	563	501	Deaths at each age.
	12.33	1.2	.57	.71	1.27	1.75	2.91	4.97	Per centage at each age on population at same age.
BRAMPTON Deaths 197	62	11	5	14	11	14	10	15	Deaths at each age.
	4.14	.62	.36	.66	.7	1.15	1.01	2.25	Per centage at each age on population at same age.

The Appendix B is taken from 'Variation of the Death Rate in England.' By William Royston. Pp. 7, 8, 9.

APPENDIX C.

Return of the Number of Persons Apprehended within the City of Manchester, and how disposed of, &c., for 19 years and 9 months.

Years.	Taken into Custody.	Remainder Convicted.	Convicted on Indictment.	Discharged by Magistrates, and Acquitted on Trial.	Number of Public Houses.			Number of Beerhouses.	Number of Licensed Marine Store Dealers.	Number of Brothels.	Strength of Police Force.
					With Vaults.	Without Vaults.	Total.				
1841 ..	13,345	2,138	824	10,383	NoRet.	NoRet.	498	769	NoRet.	300	317
1842 ..	8,341	1,503	414	6,424	"	"	NoRet.	NoRet.	"	NoRet.	383
1843 ..	12,147	2,981	590	76	"	"	502	781	"	330	398
1844 ..	10,702	3,961	540	6,201	"	"	490	941	"	332	413
1845 ..	9,635	5,117	535	3,983	"	"	482	1,006	"	300	435
1846 ..	7,629	3,795	627	3,307	"	"	487	1,089	"	303	469
1847 ..	6,587	3,091	654	2,842	259	223	482	1,100	"	308	469
1848 ..	6,477	2,865	646	2,746	264	211	475	1,143	"	314	469
1849 ..	4,687	2,311	527	1,849	266	214	480	1,230	"	366	469
1850 ..	4,578	2,058	594	1,926	265	216	481	1,298	1,054	297	467
1851 ..	4,890	2,176	722	1,992	271	210	481	1,312	996	312	467
1852 ..	5,166	2,494	730	1,942	273	208	481	1,465	1,174	289	476
1853 ..	5,362	2,627	623	2,112	274	210	484	1,572	1,148	254	482
1854 ..	5,955	2,584	805	2,566	272	213	485	1,576	1,624	259	529
1855 ..	6,054	3,077	748	2,229	272	215	487	1,581	1,561	263	532
1856 to } Sep. 30 }	4,470	2,372	505	1,593	273	216	489	1,552	1,414	302	546
1856-7 .	7,797	4,144	602	3,051	273	212	485	1,573	1,827	325	576
1857-8 .	7,643	4,326	605	2,713	283	202	485	1,538	1,301	382	605
1858-9 .	6,788	3,946	520	2,322	307	177	484	1,628	1,314	401	604
1859-60	7,387	4,359	541	2,487	318	167	485	1,646	1,231	404	617

This Table was prepared by Captain Palin, Chief Constable, for Mr. David Chadwick.

SALFORD POLICE FORCE.

Number of Police	1840. 31	1861. 105
Cost of Force	£1,861 10 3	£4,931 7 6
		after deducting Government Grant, £1,493 11 8
Number of Apprehensions	2275	1825
„ Public-houses	97	97
„ Vaults	10	75
„ Beer-houses	250	357
„ Pawnbrokers	7	34

This Table was prepared by Mr. JAMES TAYLOR, Chief Constable.

*Return showing the average number of Prisoners in the Manchester City Gaol,
with cost per head per day, after deducting earnings.*

Date of opening.	Year.	Average Number of Prisoners.	Cost per head per day.	Nett Earnings per Annum.	Cost per head per day, deducting Earnings, &c.
March 11th 1850.	1851	303	19½d.	£ 162 8 8	19½d.
	1852	469	12½d.	683 7 0	11½d.
	1853	420	12d.	845 15 8	10½d.
	1854	438	12½d.	1,086 0 3	10½d.
	1855	514	12½d.	1,282 5 2	11d.
	1856	569	12½d.	1,170 10 4	11d.
	1857	557	11½d.	1,310 15 1	10½d.
	1858	512	13d.	1,510 12 4	11d.
	1859	540	11½d.	1,694 4 7	9½d.
	1860	514	11½d.	2,125 4 3	8½d.
	1861	508	12½d.	2,776 5 5	9½d.

This Table was prepared by C. B. J. LANE, Governor, Manchester City Gaol.

POOR-RATES:—*Value of Property Assessed, Number and Amount of the*

Year.	Rep. p. d.	No. of Assessments.	Amount of Assessments.			Amount of Four's Rate.			Amount of Rate collected.			Per Cent.	Yr. Cont.	Paid to Constables.			Paid to County Rates.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1830	4 4 6	19,811	307,510	10	0	69,189	17	3	42,313	16	6	61-1	6	2,074	6	4	10,124	7	8
1831	4 4 6	20,534	313,147	10	0	70,438	3	9	44,077	7	0	62-3		2,127	4	0	12,075	8	9
1832	3 3 0	22,313	326,112	13	0	84,416	18	3	36,144	6	6	61-3		1,267	16	11	7,404	4	8
1833	3 3 0	24,115	305,200	13	0	30,520	1	6	24,800	10	9	41-2		2,037	7	4	7,461	9	0
1834	2 2 0	23,313	317,053	0	0	31,706	6	0	24,911	16	11	78-5		1,706	10	4	9,010	0	8
1835	2 2 0	26,403	334,737	10	0	41,412	3	9	31,066	3	11	74-3		2,464	8	2	10,440	15	7
1836	3 3 0	27,013	346,176	8	0	86,544	1	3	59,371	10	7	68-6		3,218	8	6	12,365	9	5
1837	3 3 0	27,206	352,508	8	0	88,147	3	3	66,204	11	3	75-1	10	3,256	2	2	12,774	19	3
1838	4 4 0	27,464	337,961	0	0	67,573	4	0	55,090	10	0	81-5		3,701	16	8	6,485	18	8
1839	4 4 0	28,100	346,288	0	0	60,257	12	0	56,590	8	7	81-7		4,014	19	11	4,921	19	3
1840	4 4 0	28,657	360,131	0	0	81,018	3	0	65,722	10	4	84-6		3,227	18	4	8,611	4	4
1841	3 3 0	29,217	362,820	0	0	72,567	17	0	61,044	15	9	81-1		3,708	3	9	6,090	0	3
1842	3 3 0	29,690	367,141	10	0	86,071	4	6	47,563	19	8	85-4		3,652	7	7	5,841	4	2
1843	2 2 0	30,722	409,191	0	0	81,148	17	6	45,108	0	8	89-1		3,106	9	11	6,726	15	6
1844	2 2 0	31,340	429,814	0	0	42,981	8	0	34,871	3	0	90-4		2,810	13	8	8,583	2	8
1845	1 4 0	32,059	467,476	8	0	31,163	1	8	26 127	3	4	10-2		3,831	10	10	5,631	9	10
1846	1 4 0	34,523	568,843	8	0	47,408	18	9	40,832	19	0	85-6	6	5,183	12	3	4,846	8	6
1847	1 6 0	34,758	574,241	10	0	43,073	12	3	37,018	8	4	85-9		5,018	4	4	7,163	0	6
1848	1 6 0	35,827	589,530	10	0	48,923	17	0	49,646	3	8	84-2							
1849	2 2 0	36,427	599,530	10	0	29,476	18	6	24,101	19	1	81-4		2,210	1	0	7,947	13	6
1850	2 4 0	36,673	597,921	13	0	69,737	10	0	57,643	8	9	82-6							
1851	2 4 0	36,661	601,331	13	0	70,132	16	8	56,666	12	8	80-7							
1852	3 4 0	36,009	602,610	13	0	101,436	15	10	79,361	8	6	79-0	7						
1853	3 4 0	36,603	590,918	0	0	118,179	13	0	96,278	9	6	81-4							
1854	3 0 0	37,033	566,531	13	0	99,480	1	3	75,806	4	10	84-7							
1855	3 0 0	37,407	617,146	5	0	92,573	8	9	79,693	17	4	86-0							
1856	3 0 0	37,751	633,017	16	0	108,234	9	0	135,491	18	8	83-6							
1857	4 4 0	38,024	643,821	0	0	144,026	13	6	122,652	19	0	85-1							
1858	4 4 0	38,151	647,568	18	0	215,856	5	0	174,248	13	8	81-0							
1859	4 4 0	38,728	657,863	8	0	211,573	17	0	107,531	19	5	81-6							
1860	3 4 0	39,574	665,609	0	0	116,492	1	6	96,609	9	10	83-0							
1861	4 4 0	40,113	677,446	10	0	135,492	6	0	114,020	2	1	81-1							
1862	4 4 0	41,340	691,354	0	0	138,270	16	0	117,158	17	0	84-7							
1863	3 6 0	42,849	721,082	0	0	136,199	7	0	108,960	8	10	84-4							
1864	3 6 0	43,681	732,408	10	0	134,171	9	0	107,549	17	4	83-9	8						
1865	4 4 0	43,718	737,225	10	0	147,466	2	0	124,348	19	0	83-7							
1866	4 4 0	43,600	741,591	10	0	149 2-6	6	0	124,035	11	10	83-6							
1867	4 4 0	43,821	757,106	10	0	151,421	6	0	125,253	7	3	83-8							
1868	4 4 0	44,046	769,090	10	0	153,524	2	0	130,520	12	1	83-0							
1869	4 4 0	43,263	778,988	10	0	155,797	3	0	136,008	3	0	87-2							
1870	3 4 0	41,216	789,200	10	0	131,433	13	4	118,944	17	1	88-1	7						
			1,089,300	21,637,086	16	0													

Average rate in the £ for 20 years, 1820—1840 = 2s. 11d. { Average rate in the £ for
 " " " 21 years, 1840—1860 = 3s. 9½d. { the whole 40 years, 1820
 —1860, being 3s. 5½d.

	Assessments Per Cent.
Increase in the number of assessments in 20 years, 1820—1840=15,821, or 79'86.	
" " " 20 years, 1840—1860= 6,284, or 17'64.	

D.

Assessments, and Rates Collected in Manchester 1820 to 1860.

Year.	Paid Parish Highway Rates.	Mrs. Chas. K. Shaw paid Chief Commissioners of Police.	Paid to Burroughs Rate.	Paid to Guardians.	Overseers' Expenses.	Total paid out of Poor Rates.	Balance in hand at the end of each Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1820					20,280 4 0	41,578 18 0	11,029 2 2
1821	316 7 9				24,528 4 9	29,044 6 0	11,767 15 6
1822	316 7 9				20,550 9 0	26,038 18 1	23,038 19 5
1823					11,248 0 3	20,746 16 7	20,827 1 0
1824	316 7 9				22,056 13 7	31,098 12 4	10,029 7 3
1825	316 7 9				26,243 19 7	30,468 8 1	3,241 3 2
1826	316 7 9				42,383 0 8	54,293 6 2	1,542 17 10
1827	1,565 11 0				36,882 7 8	54,879 0 2	11,803 1 9
1828	1,504 6 6				20,431 19 3	41,418 1 1	29,821 4 7
1829	774 9 6				49,293 1 8	57,917 10 1	31,724 6 8
1830					41,787 8 11	53,628 8 7	1,767 8 8
1831					47,191 7 9	56,899 11 8	2,508 1 7
1832	388 0 3				53,411 13 4	63,293 8 4	3,377 7 8
1833					23,634 4 6	43,463 9 11	11,532 15 6
1834					27,645 9 6	37,039 8 4	19,044 10 7
1835					33,523 8 8	43,186 9 4	20,146 4 6
1836	193 12 3				30,815 3 7	24,766 3 9	21,708 11 6
1837	287 4 9				37,603 8 9	47,723 14 1	14,432 13 10
1838					26,190 1 5	48,370 6 3	12,987 10 11
1839	247 4 9	9,000 0 0	22,104 15 6		40,630 12 7	60,196 12 6	17,027 12 0
1840	247 4 9	16,201 12 8	9,701 15 6	31,001 0 0	46,192 13 3	83,076 8 2	6,353 7 1
1841	751 16 3	16,896 1 8			4,206 10 6	62,557 3 11	91,654 8 5
1842		14,478 19 2	7,000 0 0	58,350 18 11	3,782 9 4	83,562 7 8	6,276 1 4
1843			31,191 14 6	49,073 8 2	3,475 12 0	83,740 15 8	29,441 8 7
1844	751 16 3		34,440 19 6	44,000 0 0	3,212 16 3	87,908 12 0	29,444 11 1
1845			42,766 16 4	84,000 0 0	3,545 13 10	100,272 10 2	7,568 11 11
1846			43,473 10 3	60,000 0 0	3,707 4 9	105,940 15 0	12,167 11 3
1847	563 17 3		37,189 14 1	122,000 0 0	4,037 12 7	163,791 3 11	3,285 4 11
1848			23,707 18 2	90,000 0 0	4,269 13 6	128,697 7 8	20,810 15 10
1849	563 17 3		43,760 8 4	70,000 0 0	5,764 1 1	120,108 3 8	14,591 15 10
1850	1,508 12 7		43,148 2 0	80,000 0 0	21,463 18 9	115,715 12 4	22,549 11 2
1851			42,322 19 0	60,000 0 0	5,060 2 2	107,983 1 2	33,703 2 7
1852			47,052 4 0	54,585 16 8	5,051 4 9	106,649 5 8	49,383 15 0
1853			45,165 19 11	60,000 0 0	8,196 0 10	110,392 0 9	48,820 13 4
1854			52,509 16 0	65,000 0 0	5,261 19 9	122,774 15 9	35,807 6 8
1855			49,687 9 7	80,000 0 0	5,677 18 10	135,365 8 5	25,033 12 0
1856			42,156 11 8	80,000 0 0	5,701 15 7	127,857 7 3	24,881 17 11
1857			47,296 3 9	77,000 0 0	6,108 0 9	130,404 4 6	22,740 13 2
1858			45,133 18 2	80,000 0 0	7,056 12 5	132 190 10 7	26,201 9 10
1859			45,453 8 3	84,945 0 10	5,542 19 10	135,941 8 11	32,497 13 3
1860			44,872 12 8	60,000 0 0	5,345 9 11	110,218 2 7	29,788 14 8

* Went into Union. † New Poor Law order of accounts. ‡ Removal Department returned to Overseers.
 { One Quarter's relief of Poor.

	Per Cent.
Increase in the value of property assessed in 20 years, 1820—1840 — £290,411, or 94'44-	
" " " " 20 years, 1840—1860 — £191,382, or 31'79-	

APPENDIX E.

I HAVE excluded from the sketch of the progress of Manchester all medical details not indispensable to an estimate of the three chief causes of the high rate of mortality still maintained there. To enter into the various questions of vital statistics subordinate to the three prominent sources of this mortality would be inconsistent with the main objects of this volume. But I place in this Appendix corroborative evidence that I have not without sufficient ground attributed this high rate of mortality chiefly :—1. To the sanitary defects in the construction of dwellings and their conveniences ; to their being too closely crowded ; and to the degree in which the removal of nuisances still baffles the efforts of the Corporations of Manchester and Salford. 2. To the mismanagement or neglect of children under five years of age. And 3. To intemperance.

In support of the first two of these causes I append the following extracts from the *Report of Dr. Headlam Greenhow*, to the Public Health Department of the Privy Council, on *Diarrhoea in Manchester*, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1859.

It is especially satisfactory to me to find that the particular nuisances to which in 1831 I had directed the attention of the Board of Health, and of the committees of inspection appointed by it,—the absence or bad position of privies; the overcrowding of dwellings; the want of ventilation of courts, alleys, and small streets; the imperfect removal of excrementitious matter; the defects in scavenging—though less in degree, are exactly those which, in Dr. Greenhow's opinion, combine with the neglect or mismanagement of infants as two main sources of the high rate of mortality.

I also append an analysis of the causes of deaths among children under five years of age in the Ancoats district in 1859.

‘MANCHESTER.—Cholera occasioned 891 deaths in Manchester in 1849, but visited it very lightly in 1854; indeed, the deaths from cholera, dysentery, and diarrhoea were more numerous in Manchester in 1852, when cholera was not supposed to be epidemic in this country, than in 1854, when it prevailed severely in an epidemic form in several parts of England. Excluding the 891 deaths from cholera in 1849, but including those in other years, 7032 persons died of diarrhoeal disease; that is to say, of diarrhoea, cholera, and dysentery, in the registration district of Manchester during the eleven years 1848-58. Of these deaths, 4924 occurred during the seven years 1848-54, and 2836 during the five years 1854-8; being an annual average of 703 during the earlier, and of 567 during the later period. The deaths from diarrhoea have thus materially decreased of late years; and, as the population has increased, the diminution in proportion to the number of inhabitants is even larger than is represented by these figures.’ ‘The average annual death-rate from diarrhoeal disease, which was 3·20 per 1000 persons during the septennial period 1848-54, had fallen to 2·28 during the five years 1854-8, or nearly one-third.’ ‘Satisfactory as is this great reduction in the mortality from diarrhoea in Manchester, there yet remains a wide margin for improvement, seeing that the present death-rate from this disease is more than seven times higher than the normal rate. There can be little hesitation in attributing this improvement in the public health of Manchester, more especially as regards diarrhoea, mainly, if not exclusively, to the efforts made by the civic authorities to amend the sanitary state of the city.’

‘Manchester is a densely-built town; the interspaces between the streets being small, and almost entirely covered with buildings.’

'The streets and courts of Manchester are, generally speaking, well kept and cleanly, the little heaps of refuse so commonly to be observed in most towns being here found only exceptionally. During a very minute inspection of the town, but few places were observed requiring notice, on account of their filthy condition.' These, together with a few small courts and back passages, were in this respect the only strikingly exceptionable places observed. Courts abound in the interspaces between the streets, and are often narrow, ill ventilated, and, being sometimes entered under an archway, are so entirely surrounded by buildings as to form mere wells of stagnant air, which is often rendered offensive by the effluvia from privies. Indeed, these latter form the prevailing nuisance of Manchester. Although apparently well looked after, they cannot fail, more especially in close, warm, still weather, to be a source of great annoyance to the inhabitants ; and, if their influence on the public health may be judged of by experience in other places, they are one of the primary causes of the prevalence of diarrhoea. Privies are the only kind of convenience attached to the dwellings of the labouring classes, water-closets being apparently discountenanced by the local authorities.

'It is stated in the official regulations published by the Sanitary Committee of the Council, "that water-closets will only be allowed under special arrangements with the Committee, and the owner or occupier agreeing with the Water Works Committee for Water, for the purpose of cleansing the pipes ; also defraying one half of the cost of removing the ashes." Privies are, therefore, in general use; in the older portion of the town, where they did not formerly exist, their construction has been enforced in the proportion of one privy for every four houses; and, when necessary, houses have, it is said, been removed, to afford room for their construction. Every recently built dwelling-house is provided with a privy and ash-pit. Very stringent regulations have been adopted on this subject by the civic authorities. (*The regulations are then quoted.*)

'It results from these regulations that, in laying out ground for building purposes, the space between the backs of parallel rows of houses is usually just sufficient to admit of the construction of privies, ash-pits, and passages in accordance with the requirements of the Sanitary Committee. In some instances, the space is not even quite enough to comply with the spirit of the law, although the letter be scrupulously adhered to.' (*Instances are related.*) 'Sometimes there are rooms over privies, as in ' streets named. 'There is usually in such cases a ventilating shaft or flue for carrying away the exhalations from the privy to the open air, the flue constructed for this purpose sometimes passing through the rooms above the privy. In other places, perhaps of more recent construction, a space for the dispersion of effluvia is left between the top of the privy and the floor of the room above ; examples of this arrangement are met with in the neighbourhood of Brown and Caledon Streets. Small sculleries, with bedrooms over them, are occasionally erected as projections from the backs of houses ; these interfere materially with the passage of the air through the interspaces behind the houses, the ventilation being often so impeded that offensive exhalations are but slowly dispersed into the general atmosphere.

'When it is considered that this system of constructing privies in very confined spaces is common throughout Manchester, it may well be termed the monster sanitary defect of this important city. This evil, curiously enough, is less conspicuous in the older than in the newer portions of the town ; for, although the older houses are often loftier, and occasionally let out in tenements of a single room each, the yards are usually larger, and the privies often less objectionably placed than in the more modern streets. Pigs were observed in a few places, but by no means commonly. Strictly speaking, the keeping of pigs in the town is not prohibited ; but whenever complaints are made concerning them, their removal is ordered ; and, practically, this has almost sufficed to banish them from the denser portions of the city. Many cellar dwellings are found in Manchester, and often the houses stand

back to back with each other. The water supply is almost, if not entirely, obtained from the public waterworks.'

'Nearly two-thirds of the deaths' from diarrhoea 'were those of infants under one year of age, and considerably more than four-fifths those of children who had not attained the age of five years. If the deaths during the five years comprised in this investigation had amounted to 1000, they would have been distributed among the several stages of life in the following manner:—

Under 1 year	603.1
From 1 to 5 years	273.6
" 5 to 60 years	68.7
Over 60 years	57.6

1000.0

'The proportion of infant deaths' from diarrhoea 'varied considerably in different years; the per centage of infant deaths was 57.6 in 1854, 63.0 in 1855, 50.5 in 1856, 54.4 in 1857, and 59.6 in 1858.'

'The proportion of infant deaths also varied in the several registration districts, having been much larger in the town districts than in Newton, Cheetham, Fails-worth, Blackley, and Prestwich, which are termed the five suburban districts.'

'The annexed Table shows the mortality at all ages' from diarrhoea 'per 1000 persons in each of the urban sub-districts, and in the five suburban districts here treated, as though they formed but a single district:—

Ancoats	2.63
Deansgate	2.37
London Road	2.27
Market Street	1.84
St. George's	2.15
Five Suburban Districts	0.96

'The peculiar arrangement of the privies prevails more or less in every part of Manchester, but is not equally objectionable in all. The differences of diarrhoeal death-rate appear to coincide with these local differences of construction. Ancoats district, which is very densely built, has the highest rate of mortality in proportion to its population. This is the more striking, as the proportion of infant deaths is somewhat less in Ancoats than in the other districts. The connection between the mortality from diarrhoea and the existence of privies in the immediate neighbourhood of dwellings was repeatedly ascertained, and the comparative immunity of places freer from this local nuisance was also apparent, both from the evidence of the inhabitants and the small number of deaths recorded in the death register.'

'CHORLTON comprises Ardwick, Chorlton, and Hulme, which form integral portions of the city of Manchester, besides several less populous townships.'

'The same evils were found to exist in it as in Manchester, but in a minor degree, the ground being less densely covered with buildings, so that, with few exceptions, there is a wider space between the rows of houses. It is true the same regulations relative to new houses apply to Hulme, Ardwick, and Chorlton, as to Manchester; and, in some cases, they have been as closely adhered to; but this is exceptional, and more commonly the air at the back of the houses is less stagnant in Chorlton than in Manchester.'

'SALFORD Registration District comprehends the borough of Salford, together with Pendleton, Pendlebury, and Broughton. In common with Manchester and Chorlton, it was visited by cholera in 1849, and almost entirely escaped the visitation of 1854. In the former of these years, 234 deaths were occasioned by the epidemic. It also participated, but less severely in proportion to its population, in the diarrhoeal epidemic of 1852. Exclusive of the deaths from cholera in 1849, but including the deaths from cholera, dysentery, and diarrhoea in the other years of the series, 2748 deaths were caused by diarrhoeal disease in Salford during the eleven years 1848-58. Of these, 1863 occurred during the seven years 1848-54,

and 1239 during the five years 1854-8, being an annual average of 266 during the earlier, and of 248 during the later period. There has thus been a decrease in the diarrhoeal mortality of Salford, as well as in that of the adjoining districts. The population of Salford in 1851 consisted of 87,523 persons; and if it has increased in the same ratio since 1851 as during the preceding ten years, it would consist in 1856 of nearly 98,000 persons. If this estimate be correct, the average annual diarrhoeal death rate, which was 3.03 per 1000 persons during the septennial period 1848-54, has only been 2.55 during the five years 1854-8. Thus the diminution of mortality, although unquestionable, has been smaller in Salford than in either Manchester or Chorlton. The rate of mortality from all causes has likewise been less during the last five than during the seven preceding years. It was 27.83 per 1000 persons during the seven years 1848-54, and has only been 26.58 during the five years 1854-58.

'Some parts of Salford are very densely covered with buildings, but others are much less densely built than Manchester, which in many respects it closely resembles, but with this difference, that the privy nuisance is, in some respects, even worse in Salford than in Manchester. Houses placed back to back, and cellar dwellings, are common in Salford. Houses are not often let in single-room tenements, and are rarely overcrowded, usually containing only the members of a single family. The sanitary arrangements in some of the more recently built houses are quite satisfactory; those in some of the older streets very much the reverse. There are no waterclosets to the dwellings of the poorer classes; the soil from the privies being removed by the municipal authorities, forms a source of revenue which would be lost if waterclosets were in general use. The water supply is the same as that of Manchester, being exclusively derived from the Manchester Waterworks; wells, formerly in common use, have been altogether disused and covered over. The rule respecting privies is, that they shall be constructed for cottage property to the satisfaction of the Sanitary Committee, and, although sometimes one of these conveniences is allowed to serve for six houses, the Committee generally require that there shall be one for every four houses. In some parts of the town privies are well apart from dwellings; in others they are, as in Manchester, situated in very small yards, and in close proximity to the houses. In very many instances they are either actually within the houses, having dwelling rooms immediately over them, or in the centre of rows, having houses on either side; being, in fact, constructed in what were formerly houses, the upper floor being left unoccupied or employed for ventilation. Sometimes, but more rarely, houses have been entirely removed, and privies erected on their site. It would be easy to give examples of these several arrangements.' Instances are related. 'In several of these places the inhabitants residing in the adjoining houses complained of the privies, and sometimes diarrhoea had prevailed among them. Four courts are there described with privies in houses, below occupied rooms, in which the annual diarrhoeal rate of mortality rose to 7.2 per 1000.

'More than half the deaths were those of infants under the age of one year, and more than four-fifths those of children who had not reached the fifth anniversary of their birth. If the entire mortality during the five years had been 1000, it would be distributed among the several stages of life in the following manner:—

Under 1 year	578.2
From 1 to 5 years	277.4
" 5 to 60 years	72.2
Over 60 years	72.2

1000

'The proportion of infant deaths varied from year to year, being 55.8 per cent. of the entire diarrhoeal mortality in 1854, 58.1 in 1855, 49.4 in 1856, 54.9 in 1857, and 59.6 per cent. in 1858.'

'As in Coventry and Nottingham, so in Manchester, the large diarrhoeal mortality of children is partly attributed by the medical men to the neglect arising from the employment of women in factories. Infants, it is said, are frequently left by their mothers, at the age of three or four weeks, for the greater portion of the day, during which they are fed upon bread and water, and more rarely upon arrow-root and milk. Coffee, meat, and "little drops" of gin are also sometimes given to infants; and the system of drugging with Godfrey's Cordial is so common, that one druggist is reputed to sell thirty gallons per week of this narcotic. Mr. Leigh, one of the sub-registrars, and likewise a medical practitioner, who has devoted much attention to the sanitary state of Manchester, attributes the frequency of atrophy in young children to this system of drugging them with opiates, and the large mortality among children from diarrhoea, to neglect; parents, he says, send for medicines to druggists at the commencement of an illness, and only call in medical advice when the case has assumed a serious character. But it was also stated by some of the medical gentlemen that diarrhoea prevails likewise among persons not of the poorest class, and among adults, to neither of whom the above-mentioned causes are applicable.'

'The local distribution of diarrhoeal disease has varied less in Manchester than in some of the towns previously visited; but where such variations have been observed, they appear to have been in a direct ratio to the tainting of the air with the exhalations from foul privies or ash-pits. The inhabitants themselves sometimes complained of the effluvia, and also, in a few instances, attributed the prevalence of diarrhoea among their households to this cause. In all probability, the general diffusion of deaths from diarrhoea in Manchester should be referred to the uniform manner in which stinking ash-pits and privies are distributed throughout the town; and the slightly higher mortality of Salford to the larger proportion of privies in common use by the inmates of several houses, causing the accumulation of ordure in larger quantities in the midst of the population, and to the closer proximity of this nuisance, in but too many instances, to the dwellings.'

Extracts from the concluding Summary.

'A very large number of the deaths were those of young children, but the proportion has varied in different places. With the exception of Merthyr Tydfil and Dudley, more than half the deaths were those of infants in the first year after birth. The deaths of infants have borne the largest proportion to those of all ages in the three manufacturing towns, Coventry, Nottingham, and Manchester, in each of which evidence has been adduced of the mismanagement of infants, arising from the employment of mothers in factory labour. The different proportions in each place would seem to countenance the opinion that the assigned cause is not without influence, seeing that a much larger proportion of the women of Coventry were employed in the special manufactures of that city in 1851 than of those of either Manchester or Nottingham. The four years between the completion of the first and the termination of the fifth year after birth is the next most fatal period of life, and the deaths in these four years being added to those of the first year, very nearly equalise the mortality in most of the places during the first five years of life. But here again variations exist, which would appear to denote the operation of different influences in the several districts. Manchester and Salford have been the districts most fatal to children; next to them Coventry; whilst in Leeds, Merthyr Tydfil, and Nottingham, the proportion of deaths of children under five years of age from diarrhoea, in proportion to the whole mortality from this disease, has been smaller than in the other places. The following Table, based upon the assumption that 1000 deaths have occurred in each district, shows at a glance the proportion which the deaths from diarrhoeal disease at each period of life bears to the total mortality from this disease in the several places.

The figures have already been given separately for each place, but they are here placed side by side for all the places, and an additional column has been added to show the mortality under five years of age:—

Name of District.	Under 1 Year.	From 1 to 5 Years.	Under 5 Years.	From 5 to 60 Years.	Over 60 Years.	All Ages.
Coventry . . .	675.9	176.8	832.7	69.3	78.8	1.000
Birmingham . . .	549.0	267.0	816.0	77.0	97.0	1.000
Wolverhampton . . .	522.2	310.1	832.3	94.0	73.7	1.000
Dudley . . .	477.3	359.8	837.1	86.4	73.5	1.000
Merthyr Tydfil . . .	345.4	370.3	755.7	128.5	115.8	1.000
Nottingham . . .	609.0	136.0	744.0	105.0	151.0	1.000
Leeds . . .	635.5	250.5	786.0	92.0	132.0	1.000
Manchester . . .	603.1	273.6	876.7	65.7	87.6	1.000
Chorlton . . .	599.3	237.4	834.7	90.1	71.2	1.000
Salford . . .	578.6	277.4	856.2	72.2	72.2	1.000

'The proportion of infant deaths in each place varied in the several years, but there has been no uniformity in this respect in the different districts; even such as are contiguous, like Manchester, Chorlton, or Salford, or near to each other, like Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Dudley, having differed from one another.

'However great the influence of season, of age, or of the mismanagement of young children in causing a large mortality from diarrhoea, the concurrence at least of some other cause might be expected from the very different rate of mortality which prevails in different districts. The present inquiry has very clearly established the existence of two principal local causes of this disease. These are the breathing an atmosphere tainted with the products of animal decomposition, more especially, although perhaps not exclusively, that of human excrement, and the drinking of impure water.'

'Confirmation of the opinion here expressed, that the diarrhoeal mortality of towns is mainly due to the accumulation of night-soil within their precincts, is afforded by the beneficial results accruing from such local exertions as have had for their object the suppression or diminution of this evil, and which have been attended by success, almost in exact proportion to the greater or less completeness with which this object has been attained.'

Causes of Death in the Ancoats District of Manchester in 1861 among Children under five years of age.

Population of Ancoats Sub-Registration District in 1861 . . .	55,983
Deaths under five years	785
Deaths of illegitimate children	64
Total deaths	1493

Furnished by ARTHUR RANSOME, Esq., Honorary Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association.

Diseases.	Deaths under 1 year.	Deaths from 1-2.	Deaths from 2-3.	Total.
Scarlatina . .	5	20	55	80
Bronchitis . .	17	11	16	44
Pneumonia . .	29	27	17	73
Marasmus . .	30	6	8	44
Tabes, Mesen. .	17	4	5	26
Whooping-cough & debility . .	30	.	1	31
Premature births	13	.	.	13
Convulsions . .	109	8	5	122
Dentition . .	19	11	1	31
Fever . .	3	4	9	16
Whooping-cough .	13	11	9	33
Syphilis . .	9	2	.	11
Diarrhoea . .	88	32	7	127
Dysentery . .	4	2	1	7
Measles . .	2	1	5	8
Droopy . .	.	2	.	2
Croup . .	2	1	6	9
Small-pox . .	.	.	1	1
Hydrocephalus .	2	2	2	7
Diphtheria . .	1	4	2	7
Other causes .	42	27	24	93
	435	175	175	785

SECOND PERIOD

1839

**THE FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL
ON EDUCATION**

1837 TO 1840

**THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PUPIL-TEACHER
SYSTEM**

1841 TO 1843

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST TRAINING
COLLEGE**



SECOND PERIOD.

1. *The Order in Council creating the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.* April 10, 1839.
2. *The Minutes as to the National Normal School (April 13, 1839), and as to the Inspection of Schools (June 3, 1839).*
3. *A Pamphlet issued by direction of the Government, entitled 'Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England,' explaining the Intentions of the Ministry in 1839.*
4. *First Steps in Workhouses and Schools of Industry for Pauper Children respecting the Apprenticeship of Pupil Teachers. A few brief Extracts from Reports.* 1837 to 1840.
5. *Two Reports describing the Origin and Organisation of the Training College at Battersea, and the Introduction of some of the Pupil Teachers as Students.* 1841 and 1843.



PREFACE

IN entering on the chief features of a new period, it may be well to recapitulate. The account given in the First Period of the condition of the Working Classes in Manchester in 1832, and of the progress of that city in thirty years, exhibits the relative power of moral and physical forces on the well-being of the people. The growth of Manchester in wealth has been accompanied by a corresponding improvement in all the means of physical well-being in the operative population. They have better wages—more regular employment—cheaper food and clothing—the houses and streets which they inhabit are generally in a better sanitary condition— they have a more abundant supply of pure water—their labour is restrained within reasonable limits—institutions have sprung up since 1832 to encourage providence, cleanliness, and a knowledge of sanitary laws, and to provide the means of innocent recreation. The limitation of the hours of attendance in warehouses, and the Saturday half-holiday, are signs of the sincerity of the desire which exists in Manchester that no obstacle should prevent social improvement. These changes belong rather to the ameliorations of the physical than of the moral condition of the population; but they do not consist simply in the removal of impediments to moral progress. Necessarily, in our complex nature, moral and physical improvement are in some degree correlative.

When, therefore, the extension and the greater efficiency of moral agencies is combined with the amelioration of the physical relations of the population, we are naturally led to seek the proofs of the effects of these combined improvements in the diminution of the rate of mortality. Efficient Schools have in-

creased in number; Churches and Chapels have been built with zeal; a City Mission labours with activity in the houses of the poor; Free Public Libraries, Mechanics' Institutions, Evening Schools, and Savings' Banks, combine their attractions with the warning voice of religious teachers to wean the workman from sensuality. But the population is swollen by the immigration of a large mass of semi-barbarous colonists, who are drawn thither by the unexampled demand for labour caused by the growth of the cotton manufacture during these thirty years. The pauperism of Manchester is thus largely fed by the Irish and other immigrants. It has been customary in Manchester to relieve the indigent Irish from the poor-rate, though they have obtained no settlement. The number of unsettled Irish thus relieved amounts to two-thirds of the number of English and settled Irish who obtain relief. Doubtless the amount of intemperance, and of those crimes which are its direct consequence, are at least in similar proportions. If to the deteriorating influence of this Irish population be added the similarly barbarising influence of uncivilised English immigrants, we have before us two powerfully counteracting forces which resist the influence of physical and moral agencies now at work.

This immigrant barbarism is one main source of that increase of beer-houses which has been recorded. The intemperance of this population, and its apathy as to those parental and familiar duties which would keep the mother of an infant child at home, and would secure the early and regular attendance of any young children at the Infant School, are among the causes of the excessive infant mortality, and of the permanence for thirty years of a high rate of general mortality. The civilisation of such a population must be gradual. It is the work of successive generations. These obstacles to the combined influence of all forms of social improvement are analysed in Manchester. It is clear, then, that sanitary defects, though much improvement may still be made, are not now the chief source of the high rate of mortality that is attributable to the low mental and moral state of a population so rude, that prosperity itself inflames its sensual appetites, and thus defeats the wisdom and public spirit of the corporation, as well as the zeal of the School managers and of the religious communions.

The demonstration of the nature of the obstacles to social progress afforded by the sketch of the progress of Manchester in

thirty years throws much light on the value of those moral forces which have been called into operation by the improvements in Public Education in Great Britain since 1833, and especially since 1846. It also accounts for the difficulty which has been experienced by the promoters of Schools in securing all those results among their scholars which they were so sanguine as to expect might, at an early period, flow from their labours. They had first to train and discipline before they could instruct their scholars, — an uncivilised, ignorant population, supporting their own sensual excesses in some degree by the too early labour of their children, is necessarily indifferent to their education. Such scholars attend School irregularly — change their Schools capriciously — are ignorant, undisciplined, dull, inattentive, wayward, if not obstinate and turbulent. They are the elements of disorder in Schools. They are the dead-weights which the teacher has to carry. He has no help in their training at home: there they are neglected, or harshly treated. They come to school unkempt, ragged, dirty, insubordinate, if they come at all. But they are often truant: they are often kept away to go an errand — to nurse a child — to do some household work — which a dexterous housewife would otherwise provide for. In short, Barbarism and the School are at war. In this warfare the School will be the victor; but time is an indispensable element of success. The account, therefore, of the First Period in Public Education has been devoted to an analysis of the character of the population of one of our most prosperous cities, and to a description of the difficulties encountered by generous and enlightened citizens in their efforts to promote the Christian civilisation of their fellow-townsmen. ✓

The Second Period opens a more agreeable task to the Author. Successive publications here record the means adopted by the Government to elevate the standard of education in elementary Schools, by the first steps in the introduction of Pupil Teachers, and by the proposal of a National Normal Training School, the defeat of which was one reason why the Battersea Training College was established. These several documents naturally tell the story of the progress made in this Second Period. ✓

The account given of foreign education in the defence of the Government measures in 1839 was limited to the briefest space, on account of the indisposition of the public at that time to believe that anything was to be learned from foreign institutions.

The Author, therefore, availed himself only of those authorities whose testimony would tend to recommend their statements to popular attention. He is glad to be enabled now to refer to the Fourth Volume of the 'Report of the Royal Commission on Education of 1858,' published in 1861, containing the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in Continental Europe. The Reports of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and one of the Inspectors of Schools, 'On Systems of Popular Education in use in France, Holland, and the French Cantons of Switzerland,' and that of the Rev. Mark Pattison, B.D., now Master of Lincoln College, Oxford, 'On the State of Elementary Education in Germany,' are valuable contributions to our knowledge of these subjects, and worthy of the most attentive perusal.

I.

ORDER IN COUNCIL, CREATING THE COMMITTEE OF
THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 10th of April, 1839.

Present :

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

'It is this day ordered by Her Majesty in Council, that the Most Honourable Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord-President of the Council; the Right-Honourable John William, Viscount Duncannon, Lord Privy Seal; the Right-Honourable Lord John Russell, One of H.M.'s Principal Secretaries of State; and the Right-Honourable Thomas Spring Rice, Chancellor of H.M.'s Exchequer, be, and they are hereby appointed, a Committee to superintend the Application of any Sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education.

'(Signed) C. C. GREVILLE.'

II.

THE NATIONAL NORMAL SCHOOL OF 1839.

Extract from the Minutes of the Committee of Council appointed to superintend the Application of any Sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education.

April 13th, 1839.

Read, The following scheme for the future guidance of the Committee, viz. :—

'*Normal School.*—To found a school, in which candidates for the office of teacher in schools for the poorer classes may acquire the knowledge necessary to the exercise of their future profession, and may be practised in the most approved methods of religious and moral training and instruction.

'*Model School.*—This school to include a Model School, in which children of all ages from three to fourteen, may be taught and trained,

in sufficient numbers to form an Infant School, as well as schools for children above seven.

‘*Religious Instruction in Model School.*—Religious instruction to be considered as general and special.

‘*General.*—Religion to be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline.

‘*Special.*—Periods to be set apart for such peculiar doctrinal instruction as may be required for the religious training of the children.

‘*Chaplain.*—To appoint a chaplain to conduct the religious instruction of children whose parents or guardians belong to the Established Church.

‘*Dissenters.*—The parent or natural guardian of any other child to be permitted to secure the attendance of the licensed minister of his own persuasion, at the period appointed for special religious instruction, in order to give such instruction apart.

‘*Licensed Minister.*—To appoint a licensed minister to give such special religious instruction wherever the number of children in attendance on the Model School belonging to any religious body dissenting from the Established Church is such as to appear to this Committee to require such special provision.

‘*Scriptures read daily in School.*—A portion of every day to be devoted to the reading of the Scriptures in the School, under the general direction of the Committee, and superintendence of the Rector. *Roman Catholics.*—Roman Catholics, if their parents or guardians require it, to read their own version of the Scriptures, either at the time fixed for reading the Scriptures, or at the hours of special instruction.

‘*Simultaneous Method Classes.*—To arrange the classes in separate rooms or sections of the same apartment, divided by partitions, so as to enable the simultaneous method to be applied to 40 or 50 children of similar proficiency.

‘*Gallery.*—To adopt means to assemble a greater number of children for simultaneous instruction on subjects not so technical as to require a division into classes of 50.

‘*Instruction in Industry.*—To include instruction in industry as a special department of the moral training of the children.

‘*Special Character of Secular Instruction.*—To give such a character to the matter of instruction in the school as to keep it in close relation with the condition of workmen and servants.

‘*Physical Training.*—Besides the physical training of the children in various employments, to introduce such exercises during the hours of recreation as will develop their strength and activity.

‘*Moral Training.*—To render the moral training of the children at all times an object of special solicitude.

‘NORMAL SCHOOL.

‘*Candidate Teachers to reside.*—To provide apartments for the residence of the candidate teachers.

'Class-Rooms.—To construct the class-rooms so as to afford the candidate teachers an opportunity of attending each class in the Model School without distracting the attention of the children or of the teacher.

'Means of Instruction and Training.—To provide means for the instruction of the candidate teachers in the theory of their art, and for furnishing them with whatever knowledge is necessary for success in it.

'Rector: his duties.—To appoint a Rector to give lectures upon the method and matter of instruction, and on the whole art of training children of the poor. To regulate the reading and exercises of the candidate teachers, and to examine them. To determine the order in which they may be admitted to the practice of their art in the school, and at length intrusted with the conjoint management of classes, and to superintend their ultimate examination, subject to the rules of this Committee.

'Religious Instruction of Candidate Teachers.—The religious instruction of the candidate teachers to form an essential and prominent element of their studies, and no certificate to be granted unless the authorised religious teacher has previously attested his confidence in the character, religious knowledge, and zeal of the candidate whose religious instruction he has superintended.

'Chaplain to instruct Teachers belonging to Established Church.—The religious instruction of all candidate teachers connected with the Established Church to be committed to the Chaplain, and the special religious instruction to be committed (in any case in which a wish to that effect is expressed) to the licensed Minister of the religious persuasion of the candidate teacher, who is to attend the school at stated periods, to assist and examine the candidate teachers in their reading on religious subjects, and to afford them spiritual advice.

'Internal Discipline of Normal School.—The candidate teachers in all other respects to conform to such regulations as respects the entire internal economy of the household as may be issued by the Rector, with the approval of this Committee.

'Number of Children in Model School. Boarders.—To provide accommodation in the Model School for at least 450 children, who should lodge in the household, viz. 120 infants, 200 boys and girls receiving ordinary instruction, and 50 boys and 50 girls receiving superior instruction, and 80 children probably absent from sickness or other causes.

'Day School.—To establish a day school of 150 or 200 children of all ages and both sexes, in which the candidate teachers may realise the application of the best methods of instruction, under the limitations and obstructions which must arise in a small village or town day school.'

III.

A MINUTE OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON
EDUCATION,

Of the 3rd day of June, 1839.

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 3rd of June, 1839.

Present :

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

WHEREAS there was this day read at the Board a Report from the Committee of Council appointed to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education; which Report, dated the 1st of June, was in the words following; viz. :—

‘Your Majesty having been pleased, by your Order in Council of the 10th of April, 1839, to appoint us a Committee of Council to superintend the application of any Sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education, we, the Lords of the said Committee, have this day met, and agreed humbly to present to Your Majesty the following Report :

‘The Lords of the Committee recommend that the sum of Ten Thousand Pounds, granted by Parliament in 1835 towards the erection of Normal or Model Schools, be given in equal proportions to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. That the remainder of the subsequent Grants of the years 1837 and 1838, yet unappropriated, and any Grant that may be voted in the present year, be chiefly applied in aid of Subscriptions for building, and, in particular cases, for the support of Schools connected with those Societies; but that the rule hitherto adopted of making a Grant to those places where the largest proportion is subscribed be not invariably adhered to, should application be made from very poor and populous districts, where Subscriptions to a sufficient amount cannot be obtained.

‘The Committee do not feel themselves precluded from making Grants in particular cases, which shall appear to them to call for the aid of Government, although the applications may not come from either of the two mentioned Societies.

‘The Committee are of opinion, that the most useful application of any sums voted by Parliament would consist in the employment of those monies in the establishment of a Normal School, under the direction of the State, and not placed under the management of a voluntary society. The Committee, however, experience so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views respecting the provisions which they are desirous to make in furtherance of Your Majesty's wish, that the children and

teachers instructed in this School should be duly trained in the principles of the Christian religion, while the rights of conscience should be respected, that it is not in the power of the Committee to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this design without further consideration, and they therefore postpone taking any steps for this purpose until greater concurrence of opinion is found to prevail.

'The Committee recommend that no further Grant be made, now or hereafter, for the establishment or support of Normal Schools, or of any other Schools, unless the right of inspection be retained, in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several Schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the Committee.

'A part of any Grant voted in the present year may be usefully applied to the purposes of inspection, and to the means of acquiring a complete knowledge of the present state of Education in England and Wales.'

Her Majesty, having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to approve thereof.

(Signed)

C. C. GREVILLE.

AN EXPLANATION OF
 THE INTENTIONS OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT
 ENTITLED
 RECENT MEASURES FOR THE PROMOTION OF
 EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

PUBLISHED IN 1889

RECENT MEASURES

&c



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—STATE OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND—EFFECTS ON CRIME
—REPORTS OF CHAPLAINS OF GAOLS—NECESSITY FOR INTERFERENCE
OF GOVERNMENT.

ALL plans which have been proposed for promoting National Education in England by calling into operation the powers of the Executive Government, have necessarily been subjected to the most searching scrutiny. The advocates of education must not, however, accept the earnestness with which public attention is directed to this subject as a measure of the degree in which the necessity of an extension and improvement of the elementary education of the poorer classes is recognised. It is indeed generally known that even the art of reading has been acquired by a portion only of the rising population, and by a smaller part of the adult working class ; and that, as respects the rudimentary knowledge which might develop the understanding, and afford the labourer a clear view of his social position,—its duties, its difficulties, and rewards, —and thus enable him better to employ the powers with which Providence has gifted him, to promote his own comfort and the well-being of society, he is generally destitute, and, what is worse, abandoned to the ill-regulated and often pernicious agencies by which he is surrounded. It is commonly confessed that no sufficient means exist to

train the habits of the children of our poorer classes,—to inspire them with healthful, social, and household sympathies,—with a love of domestic peace and social order,—with an enlightened reverence for revealed truth,—and with the sentiment of piety and devotion.

But while these proofs of the fatal void in our national institutions are admitted, we fear we may not attribute the eagerness with which every proposal for the improvement and extension of popular education is discussed solely to an earnest and enlightened sympathy with the condition of the working classes. We must admit as a necessary element of our estimate of the popular feeling, the fact that the connection which exists in every well-devised plan for National Education between the secular and the religious instruction and moral training of the people, rouses the advocates of the antagonist principles involved in questions of civil and religious liberty, which have caused political struggles deeply affecting the middle and higher classes of society, but in the consequences of which the lower classes have hitherto had comparatively little practical interest.

The ferment occasioned by the recent settlement of some of these grave questions has not yet subsided ; and to the state of public opinion, which has had its source in their prolonged discussion, we must attribute, in a great degree, the suspicion with which every proposal for the promotion of National Education is regarded, and the singular excitement produced by its announcement.

We are the last to deprecate public discussion — we invite it : we rejoice in the activity of the public mind — we have nothing to fear excepting from its apathy ; our hopes are all concentrated in the right of private opinion — in the freedom with which, in this country, every question of public policy is debated, and in the consequent spread of a knowledge of the principles on which the changes demanded by the advance of civilisation are based.

In the first movements of popular excitement, misrepresentation and clamour may mislead individuals or entire political or religious bodies into an opposition to plans, which on more attentive consideration they would have cordially approved. Nay, in any society in which the right of public discussion is admitted, it is the lot of every improvement to be misunderstood and misrepresented at its first announcement; the frame of society receives a shock at every change, even for the better, and in the first moments of surprise the entire community bestirs itself to ascertain whence comes the disturbance, and what is its object.

To enable every person interested in this national question to ascertain what is the plan of her Majesty's Government, and thus to prevent or to remove the consequences of industriously circulated misrepresentations; —to invite public discussion, and at the same time to provide it with a plain exposition of the principles and arrangements which we conceive to be involved in that plan, we have published the Report of the Committee of Council approved by her Majesty, with a few observations.

Evidence has been collected from time to time by Committees of the House of Commons, by voluntary societies, and by individuals, incontestably proving that the provision for the education of the poorer classes in England is most limited in extent and defective in quality. In the year 1816, the 'Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis,' of which Mr. Brougham was Chairman, states the Committee 'have found reason to conclude that a very large number of poor children are wholly without the means of instruction, although their parents appear to be generally very desirous of obtaining that advantage for them.' 'They feel persuaded that the greatest advantages would result to this country from Parliament taking proper measures, in concurrence with the prevailing disposition of the community, for supplying

the deficiency of the means of instruction which exists at present, and for extending the blessing to the poor of all descriptions.'

In their Report in the year 1818, this Committee states 'that a very great deficiency exists in the means of educating the poor wherever the population is thin and scattered over country districts. The efforts of individuals combined in societies are almost wholly confined to populous places.'

On the 4th of May, 1835, Lord Brougham brought the subject of National Education before the House of Lords, by moving a series of resolutions, among which were the following :—

'1. That although the number of schools, where some of the elementary branches of education are taught, are greatly increased within the last twenty years; yet, that there exists a great deficiency of such schools, especially in the metropolis and other great towns, and that the means of elementary education are peculiarly deficient in the counties of Middlesex and Lancaster.

'2. That the kind of education given at the greater number of schools now established for the poorer classes of the people is of a kind by no means sufficient for their instruction, being for the most part confined to reading, writing, and a little arithmetic; whereas, at no greater expense, and in the same time, the children might easily be instructed in the elements of the more useful branches of knowledge, and thereby trained to sober, industrious, prudent, and virtuous habits.

'3. That the number of Infant Schools is exceedingly deficient, and especially in those great towns where they are most wanted, for improving the morals of the people, and preventing the commission of crimes.

'4. That, while it is expedient to do nothing which may relax the efforts of private beneficence, in forming and supporting schools, or which may discourage the poorer classes of the people from contributing to the

cost of educating their children, it is incumbent upon Parliament to aid in providing the effectual means of instruction, where these cannot be obtained, for the people.

‘5. That it is incumbent upon Parliament to encourage, in like manner, the establishment of Infant Schools, especially in the larger towns.

‘6. That, for the purpose of improving the kind of education given at schools for the people at large, it is expedient to establish, in several parts of the country, seminaries where good schoolmasters may be trained, and taught the duties of their profession.’

The Committee on the education of the poorer classes, over which Mr. Slaney presided in 1838, in their Report say, ‘they apprehend that they have ample grounds for stating, throughout this vast metropolis, the means of useful daily instruction are lamentably deficient. It must be borne in mind, that in the various valuable Reports made by the Statistical Societies of Manchester and London, and in much of the evidence adduced before your Committee, the worthless nature of the education supposed to be given in the common Day and Dame Schools, has been dwelt upon; so that in many places it may be left almost out of account.’

Your Committee now turn to the state of education in the large manufacturing and seaport towns, where the population has rapidly increased within the present century; they refer for particulars to the evidence taken before them, which appears to bear out the following results:—

‘1. That the kind of education given to the children of the working classes is lamentably deficient.

‘2. That it extends (bad as it is) to but a small proportion of those who ought to receive it.

‘3. That, without *some strenuous and persevering efforts be made on the part of the Government*, the greatest evils to all classes may follow from this neglect.’

Place.	Population.	Children of Working Classes at Daily Schools, &c.		Total.
		Day and Dame Schools: very indifferent.	Other better Schools.	
1834. Liverpool . . .	230,000	11,336	14,024	25,360*
1834. Manchester . . .	200,000	11,520	5680	17,200*
1834. Salford † . . .	50,810	3340	2015	5355*
— Bury . . .	20,000	1648	803	2451
1834. { Ashton . . . Dukinfield . . . Staleybridge . . . }	47,800	. . .	. . .	2496
1837. Birmingham . . .	100,000	8180	4697	12,877‡
1837. Bristol . . .	112,438	4135	1119	5254
Not including Private Schools.				
1838. Brighton { B. and F. } . . .	40,634 in 1831	{ 1367 863 }	{ 3033 3247 }	{ 4400 4110 }
1838. Leeds . B. & F. . . .	123,393 in 1831	No return of Dame or Day, but only of Public Schools.		—
1838. Sheffield |. . . .	96,692 in 1831	3359	5905	9264
North- { B. and F. } . . .	20,000	{ 1011 996 }	{ 1215 1202 }	{ 2226 2198 }
Reading . B. & F. . . .	15,595 in 1831	297	962	1259
Exeter	28,242 in 1831	2045	1830	3875
Including Evening.				
1834. York ¶	25,359 in 1831	1494	2697	4191

The returns made to the Education Inquiry, undertaken in 1833 on the motion of Lord Kerry, were, from the great imperfection of our administrative machinery, exceedingly incorrect, as has been proved by the subsequent investigations of societies and individuals. At the period of this inquiry, the population of England and Wales was

* Vide Reports of Statistical Society.

† Report of Manchester Statistical Society on a Manufacturing District, read at British Association. Ridgway, 1837.

‡ Vide Evidence, Riddall Wood.

§ Where 'B. & F.' or 'National' are mentioned, it only means that the returns came through the Secretaries of those Societies.

|| Report (B. & F.) excluding superior and middling Schools.

¶ Report of Statistical Society of Manchester, 1837.

Note. The general result of all these Towns is, that about one in twelve receive some sort of daily instruction, but only about one in twenty-four an education likely to be useful. In Leeds, only one in forty-one; in Birmingham, one in thirty-eight; in Manchester, one in thirty-five.

14,314,102 ; and the number of children between the ages of three and fifteen, estimated as bearing the same ratio to the population as in 1821, was 4,294,230 ; and the returns to the Education Inquiry give 1,276,947 children as in receipt of daily instruction. We must recur to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1838 for the quality of that instruction, which, being for the most part conveyed in Dame and common Day Schools, is to be regarded as almost worthless, if not, in many instances, pernicious. The number returned as attending Sunday Schools, in 1833, was 1,548,890, which is to be regarded as a cheering indication of the extent of the means at present in existence for procuring an observance of the Sunday among the children of the labouring classes, and of conveying to them a limited amount of religious instruction upon that day, but cannot be accepted as an indication of the amount of the efficient means for the intellectual development and moral and religious training of the children of our working classes. The children between the ages of three and seven, estimated as bearing the same ratio to the population as in 1821, was 1,574,551 ; and all under this age must be regarded as fit only for Dame and Infant Schools.

But we have already remarked, that the returns to the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1833 are utterly insufficient to test the quality and extent of education in England and Wales ; we must therefore have recourse to some of the laborious investigations, conducted impartially by Statistical Societies, into the extent of education provided for the poorer classes in certain districts.

In the Report of the Manchester Statistical Society, respecting the state of education in Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, and York, we find the population estimated as 533,000 ; and it has been calculated that the number of children of the working classes, from three to thirteen, for whom daily education should be provided, is 80,050 (one-third having been deducted from the whole

number of children between three and thirteen, for those privately educated, or employed, or sick, or prevented by casualties from attending School, and deducting the number attending superior private Schools); of these children 21,957 attend Endowed and Charity Schools, National and Lancasterian, and Schools attached to public institutions, and Infant Schools.

Further, of the total number of 80,050 children who ought to be educated, 29,259 receive an almost worthless instruction in Dame and common Day Schools, leaving 28,834 uneducated in any Week-day Schools. Therefore 58,093 children out of 80,050, either receive no weeeekly instruction, or instruction only in Dame or common Day Schools.

The Reports of the Manchester Statistical Society show the inefficiency of the instruction given in the Dame and common Day Schools, which is confirmed by the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1838, which we have already quoted. In our Appendix, No. 1, we have given, in a tabular form, summaries of the results of these investigations.

Whenever inquiries of a similar character have been conducted in rural districts, they have exhibited an equally lamentable deficiency of the means of primary instruction; and as the physical agencies of civilisation are in less active operation in rural districts than in towns, we fear that a large portion of our labouring population have already realised the description given by Adam Smith of the working classes of a nation whose instruction has been neglected by the Government.

What might be accomplished for the advancement of civilisation, and for the eradication of crime, by the introduction of a more efficient primary education of the working classes, may in some slight degree be estimated from the following facts, showing the proportion of offenders to their respective intellectual conditions in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838 :—

	1836.	1837.	1838.
Wholly uninstructed, or having received only the first rudiments of learning .	85.85	87.93	87.81
Able to read and write well	10.56	9.46	8.77
Instructed beyond reading and writing .	0.91	0.43	0.34
Intellectual condition not known . .	2.68	2.18	2.08
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

From this rule of moral inefficiency we fear we cannot exclude any class of Schools as at present conducted, for the methods of teaching which at present prevail commit the instruction of the children even of our National and Lancasterian Schools chiefly, if not solely, to the most proficient boys and girls; and from these it is apparent that little or no *moral influence* capable of elevating the character of the scholars can proceed. The training of the habits and affections, and the adoption of systematic means to develop either the faculties or the feelings of the children, are therefore necessarily neglected. Such acquirements as are made in these Schools result almost solely from an effort of the memory, which receives a meagre supply of the most rudimentary knowledge, while in a great number, if not the majority, of instances, as this knowledge is received with distaste, it is not retained long after the children leave the School, and besides, exerting no influence on the character in after life, is of little use in enabling its possessor even to improve his physical condition. But what is most lamentable, we may say most fearful, is the fact which Professor Pillans and Mr. Wood have fully exposed, that the religious instruction consists, chiefly, if not solely, in committing to memory catechisms and formularies which are neither explained nor understood, and that thus not only are the great truths of Christianity not recommended to the rational capacity of the child, but the sympathies which they are calculated to rouse and to develop, and which form so essential a part of a lively faith and an operative sentiment of devotion, are left uncultivated. While, however, we depict, with deep

regret, the defects of the existing system of primary education, we render our hearty thanks to those individuals and societies, particularly the National and British and Foreign, which have taken even the first step in the intellectual advancement of the people; but we request them to contemplate with us with apprehension the facts disclosed in the following Table, resulting from an examination respecting the education of 1052 prisoners in the Penitentiary at Millbank:—

EDUCATION OF PRISONERS IN THE PENITENTIARY.

	Total Number.	Of whom could not read.	Proportion of those who could not read to Total.
Schools connected with the Church. { National School	66	1	1 in 66
{ Charity Schools, not on the National System	96	7	1 in 14
{ Sunday School—Church of England	96	18	1 in 5
Schools connected with Dissenters. { Sunday Schools—Dissenters	28	1	1 in 28
{ Lancasterian, or Dissenting Schools	19	1	1 in 19
Common Day Schools	598	43	1 in 4
Attended no School of any kind	149		

SUMMARY.

Total Number educated in Schools connected with the Church	258	{ of whom could not read 26, or 1 in 10
Total Number educated in Schools connected with Dissenters	47	{ of whom could not read 2, or 1 in 23
Total Number educated in common Day Schools	598	{ of whom could not read 43, or 1 in 14
Total of the above	903	of whom could not read 71, or 1 in 13
Number who attended no School of any kind	149	
	1052	

The results contained in the foregoing Table are abundantly confirmed in all their details by the records of the prisons for juvenile offenders in this country.

Lord John Russell, in his Letter to the Lord President

of the Council, says, 'The reports of the chaplains of gaols show that to a large number of unfortunate prisoners a knowledge of the fundamental truths of natural and revealed religion has never been imparted.'

The Report of the Chaplain respecting the prisoners of the county gaol at Bedford in 1838, states 'that their great leading characteristic was ignorance, heathenish ignorance of the simplest truths.' At Midsummer Quarter Session he reported, that 'as to the condition, mentally and morally, of his unhappy charge, he regretted to say it could scarcely be more ignorant or degraded. It was his conviction that no pen could depict in colours sufficiently dark the moral and spiritual ignorance and debasement of the vastly greater number of those unhappy beings who pass through the prisons.'¹

Respecting the county gaol of Hertford, the Visiting Magistrates report, 'The schoolmaster has been regular and diligent in discharging the duties of his office. During the year there have been 72 discharged, exclusive of those who did not fall under his notice and instruction, of whom 30 had been taught to read the Psalms and New Testament imperfectly, or so far to improve themselves as to read well. Of the rest, some have progressed to a knowledge of most words of two syllables, and the remainder were totally ignorant, the short periods of their imprisonment not admitting of improvement.'

The Report of the Chaplain of the House of Correction at Preston says, 'The following Table shows the amount of ignorance in the 1129 individuals committed for various offences during the year, and the connection subsisting between that and the causes which have led to their offences :—

¹ Gaol Returns under 4 Geo. IV. c. 64, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 12, dated 20th Feb. 1839.

DEGREES OF EDUCATION.	CAUSES OF CRIME.							
	Drinking.	Uncertain.	Idleness and Bad Company.	Temptation.	Waste.	Confirmed Bad Habits.	Weak Intellects.	Combination of Workmen.
1. Unable to read	139	215	49	8	59	72	7	8
2. Barely capable of reading	57	92	19	4	24	32	1	
3. Can read the Testament	46	61	5	2	19	21		1
4. Can read fluently	14	14	1	1	3	4		1
5. Can read well, and write a little	71	50	6	3	17	5		
6. Can read and write well	4	3		1				
	331	435	73	16	122	134	8	10
								1129

‘If we consider the educated criminals as represented by the amount of those who are able to “read and write well,” the proportion is remarkably small; and the inference surely must be, that education prevents or restrains crime, either by the operation of those good and religious principles which it should be its great object to communicate, or, at the least, by giving a taste and capacity for pursuits incompatible with the low and debasing propensities which open the door to crime for the ignorant and sensual. On the other hand, it is evident that the greatest absolute amount of crime is the result of ignorance and drinking combined. It is also, I think, specially worthy of observation, that, as the scale of instruction rises, intoxication begins to exhibit itself as a gradually increasing cause of crime, until, with the educated, it appears paramount over every other which can be distinctly ascertained.’

The following is an extract from the Report of the Chaplain of the County Gaol at Warwick, on the condition of the criminals confined in that prison, presented at the Michaelmas Sessions in 1836:—

‘Their condition, as regards education, is this: of every twenty-four who are committed, on an average seven have been taught to read and write; eight can read only; and nine can do neither; most of those who can write can read tolerably well, though their writing is generally a very poor performance; but at least the half of those who can

read only, do it very badly. With regard to those important parts of education, religion and morality, generally speaking, no instruction whatever appears to have been given to them; for, in a vast majority of instances, the persons who come to prison are utterly ignorant both of the simplest truths of religion, and of the plainest precepts of morality. Further, it seldom happens that any effort has been made to bring the reasoning faculties into healthy exercise; and the mind being thus left blank, as far as regards everything that is good, it ceases to be a wonder that evil principles should so readily be adopted. Indeed, where such a miserable system of education is found, as appears to prevail in many places, it were much better that nothing were attempted; for people often appear to learn only just sufficient to render ignorance conceited, and to supply them with fresh incentives to vice. As far as regards religious worship, it is very true that at some period of their lives most of the prisoners have attended a place of worship of some denomination, but very few have been taught to consider this as an imperative duty, but rather as a matter of indifference, which perhaps it may be better to do than leave undone.'

Many similar extracts might be given from the Reports of other chaplains of gaols, all confirmatory of the brutal state of ignorance exhibited by almost all the offenders who come under their observation; but these may suffice. We have, however, placed in the Appendix a Table containing a summary of the proficiency of the prisoners in Norwich Castle in reading and writing at the time of their commitment, taken at different periods, from 1826 to 1835.¹

But the consequences flowing from this neglect are not fully exhibited in such returns. The expense of the penal administration for the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime in England and Wales, amounts to

¹ See Appendix, Table No. II.

£1,213,082,¹ and the number of juvenile offenders in the prisons last year was 12,000.

On the 12th of February, 1839, by her Majesty's command, Lord John Russell laid upon the table of the House of Commons the letter which he addressed by her Majesty's command to the President of the Council, with Lord Lansdowne's reply. His Lordship's letter commences with words which cannot be too attentively considered,—
 'My Lord, I have received her Majesty's command to make a communication to your Lordship on a subject of the greatest importance. Her Majesty has observed, with deep concern, the want of instruction which is still observable among the poorer classes of her subjects. All the inquiries which have been made show a deficiency in the general education of the people, which is not in accordance with the character of a civilised and Christian nation.'

In the Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, Adam Smith thus describes the condition of a people whose education is neglected by the Government:—

'In the progress of the division of labour, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations—frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects too are perhaps always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention, in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of

¹ See Returns for 1834 and 1838.

forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging; and unless very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwise, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind, and makes him regard with abhorrence the irregular, uncertain, and adventurous life of a soldier. It corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems in this manner to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved or civilised society, this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless Government takes some pains to prevent it.'—B. v. c. i.

The calamity thus foreseen by our great economist is realised in the condition of our rural population. The abuses of the poor laws, together with the almost universal neglect of instruction, have reduced this class to a state of mental and physical torpor. The gradual absorption of our domestic manufactures in the great vortices of trade, left in the south-eastern counties of England a larger population on the soil than could be supported in comfort by agricultural labour only; yet the labourer, reduced to the condition of a serf, was incapable of any independent exertions to procure employment by removing to the great seats of commerce, or embarking in some new sphere of enterprise, like the more adventurous, because more intelligent, Scottish population. Though the labouring class in these counties must often have suffered from continued want, few or none could be induced to emigrate—few or no recruits for the army could be procured—their struggles were confined to stupid contests with the overseer, in which they suffered their wages to be swindled away. Then, when they found industry had

no reward—that all were bound to toil, but had a right to be maintained like helots—acts of secret and sullen revenge ensued. They sought to extort by fear what they could no longer procure by virtuous exertion. Property seemed their enemy; therefore they wrapped in one indiscriminating flame the stacks and homesteads of the southern counties, seeking the improvement of their condition by the destruction of capital.

On the other hand, the rapid progress of our physical civilisation has occasioned the growth of masses of manufacturing population, the instruction, and moral, and religious elevation of which have hitherto been neglected by the State. These communities exhibit alarming features; labouring classes, unmatched in the energy and hardihood with which they pursue their daily toil, yet thriftless, incapable of husbanding their means, or resisting sensual gratification; high wages and want under the same roof; while other portions of the same classes are struggling on the barest pittance with continual labour, abstinent by necessity. From opposite quarters misery and discontent are goading both. The Rev. Mr. Close, perpetual Curate of Cheltenham, says, in a sermon just published, ‘It is a well-known fact that, in the manufacturing districts, where the highest wages are obtained, the greatest poverty often prevails; where money is easily acquired, it is as quickly spent, and often in feasting as well as drunkenness; persons in this rank of life will not unfrequently discover a degree of extravagance in the gratification of their appetites, which would astonish those who are much their superiors in station; expending a week’s wages in one feast, heedless of the wants of their families to-morrow.’ At the next door to the highly-paid artisan, who has squandered his week’s earnings on the Sunday’s feast, pines the hand-loom weaver, exhausted with continual penury and toil.

Physical prosperity stimulates all the animal appetites, and, if unaided by moral restraint, wastes her resources, and, instead of connecting content and peace with plenty,

continually rouses the population to feverish exertion. Notwithstanding the high wages of the artisan, the wife commits her infant to an hireling, and leaves her domestic duties to work in the manufactory. The parents, to enable ill-regulated means to satisfy increasing wants, lead their children of a tender age to the same scene of continual exertion. Domestic virtue and household piety have little opportunity to thrive in a population alternating between protracted labour and repose, or too frequent sensual gratification. When all the animal powers are thus continually called into action, adversity is met with sullen discontent, or with fierce outbreaks of passionate disquiet. Whoever will promise less toil and more money, is a prophet in the manufacturing districts; and — in the absence of those who would teach, that comfort can only be secured by a cultivation of those domestic sympathies and household virtues, which spring from a well-regulated mind, and prove that happiness depends upon those internal moral resources, without which the greatest prosperity is often a curse — prophets will always be found ready to teach the population to seek a remedy for the evils they endure by violent attempts at social change. To the ignorant man, who has only the sense or the continual necessity to labour, in order to gratify his unappeased desires for sensual gratification, and to meet the wants created by wasted means, who can be more welcome than he who comes with the golden promise of high wages and ease, instead of leading him to an enlightened estimate of his domestic and social duties, and teaching him how much a resolute will, under the influence of morality and religion, may do, even in adverse circumstances, to render the lot of the poor man peaceful and happy? Less work and more means have always, therefore, been the promises of every impostor who has practised on the ignorance, discontent, and suffering of the manufacturing population.

We shall have to speak, in subsequent pages, of the political and social combinations which have of late pre-

vailed in the manufacturing districts ; the Trades' Unions, in which incendiarism, personal violence, and even assassination, are practised for the unattainable object of sustaining the rate of wages above the level resulting from the natural laws of trade—and the more recent armed associations for political purposes, in which the working classes have been exhorted to obtain by force privileges withheld by the constitutional representatives of the people ; results, which are all ascribable to the fact that the physical development of the population has been more rapid than the growth of our intellectual, moral, and religious institutions.

On the other hand, it is cheering to know, that the accumulation of the people in masses renders them more accessible to the beneficial influence of well-regulated social institutions. Having once encountered the necessity of supplying the intellectual and moral wants of the labouring classes, knowledge and virtue will, with adequate agencies, make more rapid progress among a concentrated than a scattered population. So long as our artisans lived in cottages scattered over the moors of our northern, and the wolds of our southern counties, little danger might arise to the State from their universal ignorance, apathy, and want ; but if the necessity for raising their moral and intellectual condition could, under such circumstances, have been as pressing as it now is, the difficulty of civilising them would have been almost insuperable. In the concentrated population of our towns, the dangers arising from the neglect of the intellectual and moral culture of the working-class are already imminent ; and the consequences of permitting another generation to rise, without bending the powers of the executive government and of society to the great work of civilisation and religion, for which the political and social events of every hour make a continual demand, must be social disquiet little short of revolution. But the same masses of population are equally open to all the beneficial influences derivable from a careful cultivation of their domestic and social habits ;

from the communication of knowledge enabling them to perceive their true relation to the other classes of society, and how dependent their interests are upon the stability of our institutions and the preservation of social order.

The law recognises the duty devolving on property, as respects the education of the factory children; and we rejoice to believe that, under the guidance of men of high intelligence and benevolence, such as many of the most wealthy manufacturers are, we shall soon realise what are the fruits of a well-devised system of intellectual, moral, and religious training, in rendering the communities, in whose well-being they have so deep a stake, examples of what may be effected by applying to the moral elevation of the population the same sagacity and perseverance which have occasioned its physical prosperity. A short time only will elapse before, in some of our great towns, the most influential inhabitants will combine for the erection and support of Model Schools. Such institutions will create and diffuse a more correct estimate of the value of Education, and will promote its spread.

For another neglected class also the State has interfered. Under the parochial system, the orphan, deserted, and illegitimate children—waifs of society—were scattered through the parochial workhouses of England, where they were promiscuously mingled with the idiots, the sick, the sturdy vagabond, and profligate women. From the parochial workhouses, the gaols and hulks recruited the ranks of crime. These children are now under the care of Boards of Guardians, separated from the adult paupers, and measures are in progress to educate them so as to render them efficient and virtuous members of society.

For the juvenile offenders the Government is carefully preparing a system of reformatory discipline and training, in which all the resources of the educator will be exhausted to redeem these outcasts from the depravity consequent on neglect and evil example.

Besides these signs of coming improvement, we hail, as a presage of no little importance, the fact that the subject

of National Education has occupied the attention of the **Houses of Parliament** during five nights of anxious discussion. We never were so sanguine as to expect that the **great embarrassments** with which it is surrounded could be at once dispelled ; but we have a confident belief that **every hour increases** the anxiety of all friends of our **constitutional liberties** and national institutions, to preserve both by the education of the people.

CHAPTER II

RESULTS OF REFORMATION IN EUROPEAN PROTESTANT STATES — SCOTLAND
— PRUSSIA — CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE — SWITZERLAND — SWEDEN
— NORWAY — DENMARK — HOLLAND, ETC. — CONDITION IN CATHOLIC STATES
— BELGIUM — FRANCE — COMPARATIVE RESOURCES IN ENGLAND.

ONE of the early consequences of the Reformation in Europe, with the exception of England, was the establishment of a system of elementary instruction. It was a natural consequence of the assertion of the right of private judgment, that every Government should charge itself with the duty of raising the standard of knowledge among the mass of the people. Thus a century and a half have elapsed since the system of parochial education was established by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, and we may now trace, in the industry, enterprise, and foresight of our Scottish fellow-subjects, and above all, in their household virtues and earnest patriotism—in their domestic piety and reverence for the public institutions and ceremonial of religion, the consequences of a system of National Education, which, whatever be its imperfections—and they are numerous,—is in many respects adapted to the genius of their nation. Prussia, as early as 1736, declared the elementary education of the people to be an essential part of the policy of the State. In that year she provided for the erection and repair of school-houses by the communes; regulated the duties and privileges of the teachers; appropriated portions of the Church revenues to the provision of their salaries; and provided from the public funds means to meet the contingent expenses of the Schools. This law underwent successive improvements in the years 1763 and

1765. These edicts also provided for the inspection and due regulation of the Schools; for the transmission of Reports to the Government; for the examination of teachers by the School inspectors; and for the elevation of some of the principal Schools of the newly acquired territory of Silesia to the character of Normal Schools. The preamble to the first of these statutes describes the condition of the elementary instruction of Prussia, in terms singularly appropriate to that of the primary education of England at this moment. The training of the rising population was extremely inefficient, on account of the incompetency of the teachers: in wide districts of the country the training of the children of the working class was almost utterly neglected. The spread of true religion—the maintenance of social order—the diffusion of useful knowledge and virtuous habits, and the cultivation of the industrial arts—could not be secured excepting by a system of education capable of raising the people from ignorance, and, in some districts, from semi-barbarism.¹

¹ The late President of the United States, in his Letters on Silesia, thus describes the Schools which Frederick the Great established in every village of Silesia. 'At the time of the conquest of Silesia,' says Mr. Adams, 'education had seldom been made an object of the concern of Governments, and Silesia, like the rest of Europe, was but wretchedly provided either with Schools or teachers. In the small towns and villages, the schoolmasters were so poorly paid, that they could not subsist without practising some other trade besides their occupation as instructors; and they usually united the character of the Village Fiddler with that of the Village Schoolmaster. Even of these there were so few, that the children of the peasants in general, throughout the province, were left untaught. This was especially the case in Upper Silesia. Frederick issued an ordinance, that a School should be kept in every village, and that a competent subsistence should be provided for the schoolmaster, by the joint contributions of the lord of the village, and of the tenants: the superintendence of the Schools was prescribed as the duty of the Clergy.'

Mr. Adams then relates how Frederick carried into execution his great design; he describes the mission of Felbiger, to acquire a knowledge of the latest improvements in the art of teaching, and the consequent establishment of Model Schools at Breslau and Glatz, for the training of educators for the primary Schools.

'After all these preparatory measures had been carried into effect,' he says, 'an ordinance was published in the year 1765, prescribing the mode of teaching as adopted in the seminaries, and the manner in which the

We have not space to describe the consequences which followed the exertions of the Prussian Government, until the disastrous war of 1806 involved Prussia in embarrassments, which, for a time, impeded the progress of her social institutions. Nevertheless, even when she was subjected to the incursion of foreign armies, or to a foreign yoke, her Normal Schools had, between 1806 and 1816,

Clergy should superintend the efficacious establishment of the system. The regulations of this ordinance prove the earnestness with which the King of Prussia laboured to spread the benefits of useful knowledge among his subjects. The teachers are directed to give plain instruction, and upon subjects applicable to the ordinary concerns of life; not merely to load the memory of their scholars with words, but to make things intelligible to their understanding; to habituate them to the use of their own reason, by explaining every object of the lesson, so that the children themselves may be able to explain it upon examination. The candidates for school-keeping must give specimens of their ability, by teaching at one of the schools connected with the seminary, in presence of the professors, that they may remark and correct any thing defective in the candidate's method. The school tax must be paid by the lord and tenants, without distinction of religions. The boys must all be sent to school from their sixth to their thirteenth year, whether the parents are able to pay the school-tax or not; for the poor, the school money must be raised by collections. Every parent or guardian who neglects to send his child or pupil to school, without sufficient cause, is obliged to pay a double tax, for which the guardian shall have no allowance. Every curate must examine weekly the children of the school in his parish. A general examination must be held annually by the deans of the districts of the schools within their respective precincts; and a report of the condition of the schools, the talents and attention of the schoolmasters, the state of the buildings, and the attendance of the children, made to the office of the Vicar-General, who is bound to transmit all these reports to the royal domain offices, from which orders are issued to supply the deficiencies in the schools. This system was at first prepared only for the Catholic schools; but it was afterwards adopted by most of the Lutheran consistories.

'The system had at first many difficulties to contend with. The indolence of the Catholic clergy was averse to the new and troublesome duty imposed upon them. Their zeal was alarmed at the danger arising from this diffusion of light to the stability of their Church; they considered alike the spirit of innovation, and the spirit of inquiry, as their natural enemies. But the firmness of the Government overcame every obstacle. There are now more than 3500 schools established in the province. Before the Seven Years' war, there had not been more than one periodical journal or gazette published in the province at one time; while there are now no fewer than seventeen newspapers and magazines, which appear by the day, the week, the month, and the quarter, and many of them upon subjects generally useful, and which contain very valuable information on all the most interesting topics of discussion.'

increased from six to sixteen. A special department for the superintendence of public worship, public instruction, and medicine, was created by an ordinance issued on the Peace of Tilsit in 1810, and successive ordinances have regulated the whole details of public instruction, into the system of which we cannot now enter.

At the present moment, the extent of the existing provision for the education of the poorer classes, is remarkable. There are forty-five schools for the training of teachers in the several provinces, which are constantly educating 2583 teachers; but so vigilant is the Prussian Government, that the official reports state that a considerable number of the teachers still entrusted with the management of schools, have hitherto not obtained certificates of competency, and the annual supply of teachers is not adequate to the demand created by casualties, and the retirement of teachers from age and other causes. To the supply of these wants the attention of the Government is constantly directed.

In 1838, Prussia contained a population of 14,000,000; the number of public schools was 22,910, in which 27,575 teachers were employed, who educated 2,171,745 children (or one teacher to seventy-eight scholars); besides which, 117,982 children were educated at Middle and Burgher schools. The number of children between five and fifteen, or of an age to go to school, was 2,830,328; the number of children receiving instruction in the schools was 2,289,727, so that only 540,601 children were not at school, in the whole body of children, between the ages of five and fifteen. The proportion of children at school to the population, being as one to six, it may be considered that the extent of the provision for education in Prussia is complete as to quantity, though as regards quality, it is still susceptible of considerable improvement. In the great towns of Prussia, the proportion of children at school to the population was, in Berlin, one in ten; in Breslau, one in nine; in Cologne with Deuz, one in eight; in Konigsberg, one in nine; in Danzig, one in eleven; in Magde-

burg, one in eight ; in Elberfeld with Barmen, one in seven ; in Aix-la-Chapelle, one in thirteen ; in Posen, one in thirteen ; in Stettin, one in ten. The interference with primary instruction in towns occasioned by the early employment of children in the manufactories, by the less settled habits of the population, and by other causes, is greater than in the country ; and the proportion of one in eight has been generally deemed a complete provision for the education of the poorer classes in towns. Though the number of children attending school in the principal cities of Prussia falls short of this proportion, it is greatly superior to the whole number attending school in the great towns of this country, even including the ill-regulated common day and dame schools. The Prussian regulations respecting education are adapted to the character of the people, and in harmony with the general policy of the Government. The state of education in Prussia may be employed as a means of comparison between the extent and quality of the means of instruction existing in that country and our own, while we carefully bear in mind that any measures which may be adopted by the Government of this country may be required to differ as widely from the ordinances of Prussia as the character of the English people and the nature of the laws and institutions of this country differ from those of the Prussian nation.

The condition of education in some of the states of Germany is, perhaps, superior to that of any other portion of Europe. The development of primary instruction in Saxe Weimar and Wurtemberg has, during the present century, been promoted by one of the greatest minds of modern times, which embodied the national characteristics of the genius of his countrymen so as to command their universal homage. We avail ourselves of a luminous account of the state of education in Germany, and its legitimate consequences, given in the *Journal of Education*¹, by the

¹ 'The change for the better, consequent on the system of instruction introduced into Prussia, seems to be inferior to that which has followed the

learned and experienced traveller, Mr. Loudon, whose powers of observation and impartiality will command

introduction of National Schools into Wirtemberg, Baden, Bavaria, and generally in all those states included in what was formerly denominated the Confederation of the Rhine. In Wirtemberg, indeed, the inhabitants have been pretty well supplied with the means of education for near a century past; but during the last thirty years, the system has been very greatly extended and improved. At present, not only in Wirtemberg, but also in Baden, Hesse, &c., a public school is established in every parish, and in some instances, in every hamlet. The Master receives, as in Scotland, a fixed salary from the parish, exclusive of a small fee from the pupils, varying according to their age, and the subjects in which they are instructed. The fees are fixed by Government, and are everywhere the same. Exclusive of the salaries and fees, the Masters are furnished with a house, a garden, and in most instances, a few acres of ground, corresponding to the glebes of the Scotch Clergy. The law requires that the children should be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and it is specially enacted that they shall be instructed in the principles of German grammar and in composition. The books used in the schools of Wirtemberg and Baden, and generally throughout Germany, are very superior to those used in similar establishments in this country. They consist of geographical, biographical, and historical works, and of elementary treatises on moral science, natural history, and the principles and practice of some of the most important and useful arts. In all the larger schools, the boys and girls are kept separate, and the latter, in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught all sorts of needle-work, the knitting of stockings, the making of clothes, &c. receiving at the same time lessons in the art of cookery, the management of children, &c. The supervision of the schools is intrusted, in every parish or commune, to a committee, consisting of a few of the principal inhabitants; the clergy of the parish, whether Protestants or Catholics, being always ex-officio members of the Committee. This body is intrusted with the duty of inspecting the school, and is bound to see that the Master does his duty, and that the children regularly attend. No particular system of religion is allowed to be taught in any of the schools of Wirtemberg, and most of the other Germanic States. The tuition of this important branch is left entirely to the Clergy, and the parents of the children, so that the sons and daughters of Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Quakers, &c. frequent the same schools, and live in the most perfect harmony.

'In Bavaria, the beneficial consequences resulting from the establishment of a system of National Education have been more signal than in any other European country. Half a century ago, the Bavarians were the most ignorant, debauched, and slovenly people between the Gulf of Genoa and the Baltic. (For proofs of what is now stated, see Riesbeck's "Travels in Germany," vol. i. cap. xi.) That they are at present patterns of morality, intelligence, and cleanliness, it would be going too far to affirm; but we are bold to say, that no people has ever made a more rapid advancement in the career of civilisation, than they have made during the last thirty years. The late and present Kings of Bavaria, have been truly the fathers of their country; for they have not only swept away myriads of abuses, and established a representative system of government, but they have laid the only

universal respect, and whose statements are so important as to deserve quotation, without abridgment. We have, therefore, placed them in a note.

The schools in the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland have long been under the direction of a Council of Education, appointed by the Government, and are frequented by one-sixth to one-tenth of the population. Considerable

sure foundations of permanent and real improvement, in the organisation of a truly admirable system of National Education. A school has been established in every parish of Bavaria, to which, as already observed, every one is obliged to send his children, from the age of six to fourteen. Lyceums, Colleges, and Universities, have also been instituted for the use of those who are desirous of prosecuting their studies, and every facility is afforded for the acquisition of the best instruction at the lowest price. In Bavaria the schools are inspected, and reports regularly made upon their condition by properly qualified officers, appointed for that purpose by Government. There is a particular department in the Ministry of the Interior appropriated to the supervision of the different kinds of schools. We subjoin a list of the places of primary education, and the number of teachers, pupils, &c. in Bavaria in 1828.

Public or National Schools	.	.	5304
Normal Schools	.	.	7

TEACHERS AND PUPILS.

Inspectors of Schools	.	.	280
Teachers	.	.	7114
Pupils of all classes, about	.	.	498,000

'Now, as the population of Bavaria is almost exactly four millions, it follows that not less than one-eighth of the entire population is at school. This is a very high proportion, and shows conclusively how universally education is diffused. In Scotland, it is supposed that the individuals at school amount to about one-tenth of the entire population.

'Throughout Germany the greatest attention is paid, not merely to the acquirements of the Teachers, but also to their capacity for teaching. To ensure proficiency in this respect, normal or pattern schools have been established in all the principal towns, which are attended by those who are candidates for the situation of Master; who, besides being instructed in the branches they are to be employed in teaching, are at the same time instructed in the best methods of teaching, and in the conduct proper to be followed in the management of scholars. Some of these schools very justly enjoy a very high reputation; and their establishment has had the most powerful and salutary influence on the system of instruction. No one is admitted to the pattern schools under thirteen years of age, and candidates are obliged to have made considerable proficiency in various branches. At the famous Normal School of Rastadt, the pupils, among other indispensable requisites, are expected to be masters of the elements of music.'—See *Quarterly Journal of Education*, vol. i. p. 29.

improvements have been introduced into the system of Swiss education during the last sixteen years. Berne, Geneva, Basle, and Argovia have been long distinguished by their zeal, and the Canton de Vaud has recently made great exertions for the improvement of the methods pursued in its schools. Fribourg has been distinguished by the labours of Père Girard, whose schools in that town were the most successful development of the system of mutual instruction, which the Continent has yet witnessed. His method resembled, in some important respects, that pursued by Mr. Wood in the Edinburgh Sessional Schools. In the Protestant Cantons, the average number of pupils to each school is about 90, and the proportion to each teacher 70. No detailed accounts of the Normal Schools of Switzerland have reached this country, but we are informed by intelligent travellers that two Normal Schools exist in the Canton of Berne; a very good one at Lausanne, in the Canton de Vaud; two in Argovia; a very large school at Küsnacht, near Zurich; one in Thurgovia, presided over by Vehrli, whose name is familiar to all who take an interest in the progress of education; two in St. Gall; a school in Appenzell, pronounced to be well conducted, and one at Schaffhausen, another in the Catholic Canton of Grisons, and a third in that of Lucerne. Besides these, there are doubtless others of which at present we have no account, and generally it may be stated, that the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland are nearly foremost in Europe, as respects primary education. Throughout these Cantons the superintendence of the schools by a Council of Education, appointed by the Government, and acting by means of Training Schools, and a system of active inspection, has been found not only efficient in promoting the progress of education, but in perfect harmony with the free constitutions of the Swiss Cantons.

In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, in 1527, diffused the Lutheran doctrine over the whole country. This change in the religious institutions of the country harmonised with the wants and character of the people of that age. Though,

however, the Swedish clergy are still in numbers equal to their task, and though their ecclesiastical discipline is admirable, the Church has ceased to be influenced by the genius of Protestantism. A spiritual tyranny represses the right of private judgment, and the people continue superstitious. In 1684, Charles XI. enacted that every one of his subjects should be able to read, that the curate should examine him in religion before he was admitted to the Holy Sacrament, and that nobody should be married who had not been confirmed. These enactments appear to account for the fact that the Swedish peasantry were, until towards the close of the last century, regarded as the most religious and best instructed working class in Europe. Before the present century, education in Sweden was almost solely parental; few children attended public schools, but in order to entitle them to the privileges of citizenship, they were instructed and trained by their parents at home. Since the latter part of the last century a rapid deterioration has taken place in Swedish manners and in the moral condition of the population. Mr. Laing traces this degeneration to the influence of a defective social system, in which some of the worst institutions of feudalism corrupt a people aroused from the incurious apathy of the middle ages. The system of parental instruction has been found insufficient to struggle against the demoralising influence of misrule and imperfect laws, discouraging industry and merit, and impoverishing the mass—and the evil example of corrupt manners among the privileged classes. Of late years only has any attempt been made to provide a remedy for these formidable evils.

An elementary school for the training of teachers in the best methods has been established at Stockholm, and a Committee for the revision of Public Education, formed by an order of the King in 1825, have reported their opinions on schools for the common people, on elementary schools, and on the universities. They recommend that a school be established in every parish for the children of the poorer class, where they may be instructed in reading,

writing, arithmetic, religion, biblical history, church singing, linear drawing, history, geography, and gymnastic exercises. They also recommend that libraries of useful **books** be attached to each school. These measures have **since** the Report of the Committee, been in a state of **progressive** execution, and Sweden will soon enjoy **institutions** suited to the character of her people and the wants of the age.

A parochial system of primary instruction is established in Norway resembling that of Scotland, but partaking of the primitive character of the institutions of that country. The funds for the support of schools are generally derived from endowments, from local taxes, subscriptions, &c. Manufacturers employing more than thirty workmen are obliged to provide schools for their children, and to pay the teachers. Several training schools for teachers exist, and it is the intention of the Government to extend and improve them. The population of Norway being thinly scattered over wide mountainous districts, the Government, besides the paid parochial teachers, has provided a class of itinerant teachers, who successively visit the hamlets of their districts, assembling and instructing the children in the usual elementary knowledge. In 1833, the population being about 1,000,000, Mr. Ewerloff stated the *fixed schools*, in Norway, to be 183, instructing 13,693 children of both sexes, and the number of ambulatory schools as 1610, instructing 132,632 children. Besides which there were in the vicinity of towns 55 regular schools, supported by the citizens, in which 600 or 700 children were instructed. (*Journal of Education.*)

In Denmark a general code of regulations for schools has existed since 1817, the condition of the primary instruction having previously to that period made satisfactory progress. The elementary schools of Denmark now amount to 4600, educating 278,500 children. The population is 2,000,000, and it is estimated that there are 300,000 children of an age to go to school. The entire

population of Denmark may, therefore, be said to be receiving instruction.

Holland has long enjoyed the advantages of an advancing civilisation. The institutions of the central states of Europe for the promotion of primary education procured, at an early period in the Batavian Republic, spontaneous efforts from a sagacious people for the training and instruction of the poorer classes. The direct interference of the Government was reserved for the present century; and this is in no slight degree to be attributed to the labours of Pestalozzi in Switzerland, which called forth similar exertions from Van den Ende, from Prinsèn, and from Falk. Early in the present century the Normal School at Haarlem was established under the direction of Prinsèn. The superintendence of education was thrown upon the Minister of the Interior, assisted by the Inspector-General of Instruction. From this department a series of well-devised regulations have in successive years emanated, which have been gradually carried into execution by a system of inspection so devised as to be in perfect harmony with the municipal institutions of the country, and the character and feelings of the inhabitants. The inspectors form the medium of communication between the Government, the municipal councils, the provincial authorities, and the committees and directors of schools. It is their duty to foster the exertions of the local communities, and to direct them to useful objects. The inspection of schools; the examination of teachers, and their special authorisation; together with the diffusion of information concerning the best methods of teaching, the proper apparatus, and most useful books, are among the inspectors' duties. Every inspector visits the schools of his district at least twice every year; he has power to appoint local school commissions; but is himself under the authority of a commission of inspectors of each department, which assembles three times a year in the chief town of the province, to examine the reports of the local inspectors, and to discuss and settle all matters relating

to the internal regulation of schools. Deputies from each departmental commission are sent to the council of inspectors at the Hague, which assembles annually to confer with the Inspector-General and the Minister of the Interior. Two normal schools now exist in Holland, in which a large body of teachers is trained; but it is a part of the discipline of the Dutch schools to select the most promising pupils, first, as assistants in the more mechanical arrangements of the school, and then to be trained successively in every department, and at the same time to receive such instruction as may fit them, when they arrive at maturity, successfully to perform the duties of teachers in primary schools. Many of the pupils thus reared in the primary schools finish their education in the normal schools. Holland is now one of the best instructed countries in Europe; and the singular prudence, industry, moral habits, and religious feeling of the Dutch people are chiefly attributable to a system of education interwoven with the institutions and with the habits and feelings of the nation. Mr. Nicholls thus describes the connection between the religious and educational institutions of Holland. 'As respects religion, the population of Holland is divided, in about equal proportions, into Catholic, Lutheran, and Protestants of the Reformed Calvinistic Church, and the ministers of each are supported by the state. The schools contain, without distinction, the children of every sect of Christians. The religious and moral instruction afforded to the children is taken from the pages of Holy Writ, and the whole course of education is mingled with a frequent reference to the great general evidences of revelation. Biblical history is taught, not as a dry narrative of facts, but as a storehouse of truths, calculated to influence the affections, to correct and elevate the manners, and to inspire sentiments of devotion and virtue. The great principles and truths of Christianity, in which all are agreed, are likewise carefully inculcated; but those points which are the subjects of difference and religious con-

troversy, form no part of the instructions of the schools. This department of religious teaching is confided to the ministers of each persuasion who discharge this portion of their duties out of the school: but within the schools the common ground of instruction is faithfully preserved, and they are consequently altogether free from the spirit of jealousy and proselytism. We witnessed the exercise of a class of the children of notables in Haarlem (according to the simultaneous method) respecting the death and resurrection of our Saviour, by a minister of the Lutheran Church. The class contained children of Catholics, Calvinists, and other denominations of Christians, as well as Lutherans; and all disputable doctrinal points were carefully avoided. The Lutherans are the smallest in number, the Calvinists the largest, and the Catholics about midway between the two; but all appear to live together in perfect amity, without the slightest distinction in the common intercourse of life; and this circumstance so extremely interesting in itself, no doubt facilitated the establishment of the general system of education here described, the effects of which are so apparent in the highly moral and intellectual condition of the Dutch people.'

The proceedings of the States of Germany probably suggested to Frederick the great designs which he conceived for the moral, intellectual, and religious improvement of Silesia. From these States the influence of advancing civilisation spread into Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. The wars which succeeded the French Revolution kept back for a time the educational institutions of these states; yet even under a foreign yoke, and in the confusion consequent on rapid political changes, a gradual progress was made; every interval of quiet was, in Germany and Prussia, applied to the reparation of the consequences of foreign invasion, and the general peace was no sooner proclaimed than the Government of every Protestant state on the Continent sought to rescue the people from the demoralisation con-

sequent on a disorganising war, and to prepare the means of future defence in the development of the moral force of her people, England alone appears in this respect to have misunderstood the genius of Protestantism. With the wealthiest and most enlightened aristocracy, the richest and most influential church, and the most enterprising middle class, her lower orders are, as a mass, more ignorant and less civilised than those of any other large Protestant country in Europe.

By reference to the following table, extracted from various authorities, it will be perceived how far we are correct in tracing to the Reformation the great impulse which education has given to the civilisation of Europe.

Proportion of Scholars in Elementary Schools to whole Population.

	Pupl.	Inhabitants.
Thurgovia, Switzerland (1833)	1 in	4.8
Zurich, Switzerland (1833)	1 in	5
Argovia, Switzerland (1833)	1 in	5.3
Bohemia (1833)	1 in	5.7
Wurtemberg	1 in	6
Prussia (1838)	1 in	6
Baden (1830)	1 in	6
Drenthe, Province of, Holland (1835)	1 in	6
Saxony	1 in	6
Province of Overijssel (1835)	1 in	6.2
Canton of Neuchâtel (1832)	1 in	6.4
Frise (1833)	1 in	6.8
Norway (1834)	1 in	7
Denmark (1834)	1 in	7
Scotland (1834)	1 in	10.4
Bavaria (1831)	1 in	8
Austria (1832)	1 in	10
Belgium	1 in	11.5
England	1 in	11.5
Lombardy (1833)	1 in	12.6
France	1 in	17.6
Ireland	1 in	18
Roman States	1 in	50
Lucca	1 in	53
Tuscany	1 in	66
Portugal	1 in	88
Russia	1 in	367

In England we have no normal schools deserving of the name; Scotland owes to spontaneous individual exertions the only model schools which exist in that country;

and in Ireland, the Board of Education, obstructed by peculiar difficulties, is proceeding to complete the fabric of an institution for the training of teachers, as a part of the great mission of civilisation with which it is entrusted in that distracted country. Meanwhile the Catholic States of Europe have caught the impulse communicated from Germany to the Protestant Governments. When Belgium was incorporated in the kingdom of the Netherlands, the present King of Holland planned, and carried on for fourteen years, a series of measures for securing to the poorer classes an efficient education, which up to the Belgian Revolution were eminently successful. The entire proceedings of the Dutch Government, as related in the Reports of the Inspector-General of Education, are descriptive of the benefits derivable from a judicious and persevering application of the powers of the Executive to the improvement and extension of primary instruction; while the consequences of the law proclaiming the liberty of teaching, or in other words, abandoning primary education to the spontaneous agencies of society, are to be found in the almost complete ruin of all institutions for the primary education of the people in Belgium.

Since the year 1833, the Minister of the Department of Public Instruction in France has been assiduously employed in the execution of the law of June, 1833, relating to primary instruction in that country. The translation of the reports of M. Cousin on the state of primary instruction in Prussia and in Holland, has made the English public universally acquainted with the inquiry which M. Cousin executed by direction of the French Government in those countries, on the results of which the French law of instruction was founded, and which has served as a guide to the Department of Public Instruction in the execution of that law in France.

In the Report of M. Gillon, on the part of the Commission charged with the examination of the French budget of 1839, it is stated that there are seventy-six normal schools in France, training 2500 teachers. No

Department now wants an establishment for the training of teachers; but ten are associated with others for the support of a common establishment, and many instructors throughout France are engaged in rearing educators from their most successful pupils.

The state of primary instruction at the end of the year 1837, was as follows:—

Communes without schools	.	.	5663	
Communes provided with schools	.	.	29,750	
Boys' schools	{	Communal	30,065	} 39,504
		Private	9439	
Girls' schools	{	Communal	5283	} 14,426
		Private	9143	
				<hr/> 53,930

The want of schools in some departments is still very great. The number of children attending school amounts to 2,654,492, whereas it is calculated from recent official returns of the population that the number of children between the age of five and twelve years, is upwards of 4,800,000; but one-fourth of the children in the schools are above twelve years of age; the number of children therefore between five and twelve in actual attendance on the schools is 1,989,000; and on these premisses it is calculated that there are

Boys	{	At school	.	1,164,000	} 2,550,000
		Not attending school	.	1,386,000	
Girls	{	At school	.	822,000	} 2,250,000
		Not attending school	.	1,428,000	

From these facts it appears that only five-twelfths of the whole number of children attend school.

The Report proceeds to deplore the fact that 2,811,000 children in France receive no other instruction than that which is given by their parents, the greater part of whom are the hardest worked and the most ignorant of the population. In 1830, however, the number of children of both sexes attending the primary schools was only 1,642,206, since which period an increase of 1,009,000 has occurred. In 1830 there were only 10,000 schools

for girls; now there are 14,000. The Report continues:—Young people seldom instruct themselves when their infancy has been neglected. Of this, sufficient proof is given by the return made respecting those who are called by their age to partake in the operations of the military service. A table has been prepared, in which they are classed according to the degree of instruction. From 1833 to 1836, the proportion of this class who could neither read nor write was nearly one-half. It should be remarked that this return relates to young men who should have been at school between the years 1825 and 1828, a period when primary instruction was encouraged in France more by the zeal of voluntary associations than by the intervention of the State. Now the whole influence of the Administration is applied to induce children to accept the instruction which is offered them, and it is evident that the number of the illiterate has diminished.

If, continues the Report, the influence of ignorance on crime were doubted, all uncertainty would be dispelled by the official table of the persons accused and convicted, just published by the Minister of Justice, for the Administration of 1836, and which differs but little from previous returns.

Accused.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Neither able to read nor to write	3172	1067	4239
Imperfectly instructed in reading and writing	1853	220	2073
Well instructed in reading and writing	620	45	665
Having an instruction one degree superior	248	7	255
	5893	1339	7232

France cannot be cited as a country exhibiting the effects of a well-devised system of Education on the moral and religious condition of the people, because sufficient time has not yet been afforded for the success of the exertions of the French Government in the improvement and extension of the means of primary

education in that country ; neither can France be cited as an example that a high degree of secular instruction is found connected with a diminution of violence, but an increase of the crimes of fraud.

Mr. Porter has shown that M. Guerry's conclusion respecting the diminution of the crimes of violence and the increase of the crimes of fraud in the direct ratio of the extent of primary instruction in France was drawn from one year only (1831), but was not found to be supported, as far as the extent of this increase of the crimes of fraud is concerned, by an examination of the same facts in a series of five years, including that selected by M. Guerry, The yearly average of 1829-30-31-32-33, was as follows in the four *most* instructed departments, and in the *four* least instructed, the population being nearly the same in the departments compared.

	Crimes against person.	Crimes against property.	Total No. of Criminals.	No. upon whom sen- tence of death, and of forced labour for life, and for terms of years, was passed.
Four most instructed Departments	45	136	181	35
For least instructed Departments	66	132	198	41.6

Ses Trans. of Statistical Society of London, vol. i. p. 97, folio edition.

This result reduces the annual average excess of offenders against property in the four most instructed departments to 4 in 132, or about three per cent. We have before shown that France cannot be regarded as a country enjoying the benefits of a well-devised system of primary instruction, either as respects the extent or quality of the existing means of education, and we are inclined to agree with the following remarks of Mr. Porter on these facts as applicable to a country in that stage of civilisation :—
 ‘Crimes against property may be considered as among the consequences of civilisation, since it is evident that the temptation to commit them must be greatest when the

artificial wants of man are the most numerous and urgent, and where the accumulation of the means for their gratification is most considerable.'

We have already shown that nearly all the crime in France is committed by persons who are ignorant; and, within a fraction, all the crime is confined to those whose instruction has been limited to reading and writing merely. Mr. Porter proves that this was equally true in the year selected by M. Guerry, and that therefore the excess of crimes against property in the four most instructed departments in that year is *attributable solely to the physical influences of civilisation on the uninstructed part of the population*. If we separate the criminals of the eight departments under examination according to this classification, we shall find that, in the year 1831, they were divided as follow:—

	Four most instructed Departments.	Four least instructed Departments.
Class 1. Those wholly uninstructed. . .	101	158
2. Those who read and write imperfectly.	103	12
3. Those who read and write well	24	13
4. Those still further educated . .	4	4
	232	187

The deductions of M. Guerry are thus entirely disproved from his own data,—a result which it is to be regretted should have been overlooked in some recent discussions.¹

The influence of instruction superior to that of mere

¹ The following extract from Mr. Porter's paper contains facts too important to be omitted, though, perhaps, too elaborate for the text.

'We have seen that in the more enlightened departments the proportion of persons who can read and write is 73 in 100, while in the least instructed it is no more than 13 in 100. The population of the first being 1,142,454, it follows that only 308,403 persons are wholly uninstructed; and the number of offenders in this class being 101, it further follows that one person in 3054 among them has been brought before the tribunals; whereas, among the three instructed classes the offenders are 181 among 833,991 instructed persons, or only 1 in 6306.

'In the least instructed departments a similar examination gives us the

reading and writing may be estimated also from the sub-joined Table, from which 'it will be seen that out of 50 persons sentenced to death, not one belonged to the well-educated class; that 47 in that class were subjected to only slight correctional punishments, and 4 to simple surveillance; leaving only 49 well-educated persons out of the whole population of more than 32 millions, or 1 in 664,678 persons, who, in the course of the year 1833 were considered deserving of punishments in any degree severe.'

Punishments.	Cannot read or write.	Read and write imperfectly.	Read and write well.	Superior degree of instruction.	Total.
Death	34	10	6	...	50
Perpetual Labour	90	44	4	3	141
Labour for different periods	483	235	67	17	802
Solitary Confinement	437	218	64	23	737
Transportation	1	...	...	3	4
Imprisonment	13	4	1	3	21
Correctional Punishments	1544	628	198	47	2417
Children detained	16	7	2	...	25
Surveillance	10	8	3	4	25
	2628	1149	345	100	4222
	3777 89.4 per cent.		8.2 per cent.	2.4 per cent.	100 per cent.

Results exactly similar are contained in the returns for 1834, 1835, and 1836, which it would, however, be superfluous to insert.

following result:—the population being 1,134,280, of whom only 13 in 100 are instructed, there will be 980,824 wholly ignorant, and 147,450 who can read or write. The number of wholly ignorant offenders being 158, gives in that class only 1 offender in 6245 persons; whereas the instructed classes, amounting in number to 147,450, include 20 offenders, or 1 in every 5084 individuals.

'It is not difficult to account for these results. In situations where education is pretty generally imparted, the wholly ignorant will find themselves at a disadvantage, through the greater portion of employments being occupied by those who are instructed. The ignorant man is therefore more impelled to lawless courses than in other situations, where the great bulk of the people, being equally uninstructed, all have a nearly equal chance of obtaining honest employment.'

But if this be the state of primary education in the Continental States, what, we are entitled to ask, ought to be its condition in England? Our political atmosphere has been comparatively serene; our social institutions have not suffered the shock of any disastrous revolution; our country has not been ravaged, as has been the fate of every Continental state, by any armies. The great territorial possessions of our aristocracy, are but so many stores of wealth and power, by which the civilisation of the people might be promoted. In every English proprietor's domain there ought to be, as in many there are, school-houses with well trained masters, competent and zealous to rear the population in obedience to the laws, in submission to their superiors, and to fit them to strengthen the institutions of their country by their domestic virtues, their sobriety, their industry, and forethought,—by the steadiness of purpose with which they pursue their daily labour,—by the enterprise with which they recover from calamity,—and by the strength of heart with which they are prepared to grapple with the enemies of their country. How striking is the contrast which the estates of the landed proprietors of almost all other European countries bear in all that relates to material wealth—to the domains of our English aristocracy! On the Continent you are met on every side by the proofs of meagre or exhausted resources. In England we have no excuse; we have proofs of how much can be effected, and at how little cost, by the well directed energy of individuals; and we have in our eye examples among our peerage which cannot but be imitated as soon as they are generally known and appreciated.

Our great commercial cities and manufacturing towns contain middle classes whose wealth, enterprise, and intelligence have no successful rivals in Europe; they have made this country the mart of the whole earth; they have covered the seas with their ships, exploring every inlet, estuary, or river which affords them a chance of successful trade. They have colonised almost every accessible region;

and from all these sources, as well as from the nightly and daily toil of our working classes in mines, in manufactories, and workshops, in every form of hardy and continued exertion on the sea and on the shore, wealth has been derived, which has supported England in unexampled struggles; yet between the merchants and manufacturers of this country and the poorer class there is little or no alliance, excepting that of mutual interest. But the critical events of this very hour are full of warning, that the ignorance—nay the barbarism—of large portions of our fellow-countrymen, can no longer be neglected, if we are not prepared to substitute a military tyranny or anarchy for the moral subjection which has hitherto been the only safeguard of England. At this hour military force alone retains in subjection great masses of the operative population, beneath whose outrages, if not thus restrained, the wealth and institutions of society would fall. The manufacturers and merchants of England must know what interest they have in the civilisation of the working population; and ere this we trust they are conscious, not merely how deep is their stake in the moral, intellectual, and religious advancement of the labouring class, but how deep is their responsibility to employ for this end the vast resources at their command.

In one other respect England stands in the strongest contrast with the Continental States as to the extent of her means for educational improvement. It is scarcely credible that, with primary education in utter ruin, we should possess educational endowments to the extent of half a million annually, which are either, to a large extent, misapplied, or are used for the support of such feeble and inefficient methods of instruction as to render little service to the community. Whenever the Government shall bend its efforts to combine, for the national advantage, all these great resources, we have no fears for our country. We perceive in it energies possessed by no other nation—partly attributable to the genius of our race; to a large extent derived from the spirit of our policy, which has

admitted constant progression in our social institutions ; in no small degree to our insular situation, which makes the sea at once the guardian of our liberties and the source of our wealth. But any further delay in the adoption of energetic measures for the elementary education of her working classes is fraught both with intestine and foreign danger — no one can stay the physical influences of wealth — some knowledge the people will acquire by the mere intercourse of society — many appetites are stimulated by a mere physical advancement. With increasing wants comes an increase of discontent, among a people who have only knowledge enough to make them eager for additional enjoyments, and have never yet been sufficiently educated to frame rational wishes and to pursue them by rational means. The mere physical influences of civilisation will not, we fear, make them more moral or religious, better subjects of the State, or better Christians, unless to these be superadded the benefits of an education calculated to develop the entire moral and intellectual capacity of the whole population.

A great change has taken place in the moral and intellectual state of the working classes during the last half century. Formerly, they considered their poverty and sufferings as inevitable, as far as they thought about their origin at all ; now, rightly or wrongly, they attribute their sufferings to political causes ; they think that by a change in political institutions their condition can be enormously ameliorated. The great Chartist petition, recently presented by Mr. Attwood, affords ample evidence of the prevalence of the restless desire for organic changes, and for violent political measures, which pervades the manufacturing districts, and which is every day increasing. This agitation is no recent matter ; it has assumed various other forms in the last thirty years, in all of which the manufacturing population have shown how readily masses of ignorance, discontent, and suffering may be misled. At no period within our memory have the manufacturing

Districts been free from some form of agitation for unattainable objects referable to these causes. At one period, Luddism prevailed; at another, machine-breaking; at successive periods the Trades' Unions have endeavoured in strikes, by hired bands of ruffians, and by assassination, to sustain the rate of wages above that determined by the natural laws of trade; panics have been excited among the working classes, and severe runs upon the Savings' Banks effected from time to time. At one time they have been taught to believe that they could obtain the same wages if an eight hours' bill were passed as if the law permitted them to labour twelve hours in the day; and mills were actually worked on this principle for some weeks, to rivet the conviction in the minds of the working class. The agitation becomes constantly more systematic and better organised, because there is a greater demand for it among the masses, and it is more profitable to the leaders. It is vain to hope that this spirit will subside spontaneously, or that it can be suppressed by coercion. Chartism, an armed political monster, has at length sprung from the soil on which the struggle for the forcible repression of these evils has occurred. It is as certain as any thing future is certain, that the anarchical spirit of the Chartist association will, if left to the operation of the causes now in activity, become every year more formidable. The Chartists think that it is in the power of Government to raise the rate of wages by interfering between the employer and the workman; they imagine that this can be accomplished by a maximum of prices and minimum of wages, or some similar contrivance; and a considerable portion of them believe that the burden of taxation and of all 'fixed charges' (to use Mr. Attwood's expression) ought to be reduced by issuing inconvertible paper, and thus depreciating the currency. They are confident that a Parliament chosen by universal suffrage would be so completely under the dominion of the working classes as to carry these measures into effect; and therefore they petition for universal suffrage, treating all truly remedial

measures as unworthy of their notice, or as obstacles to the attainment of the only objects really important. Now the sole effectual means of preventing the tremendous evils with which the anarchical spirit of the manufacturing population threatens the country is, by giving the working people a good secular education, to enable them to understand the true causes which determine their physical condition and regulate the distribution of wealth among the several classes of society. Sufficient intelligence and information to appreciate these causes might be diffused by an education which could easily be brought within the reach of the entire population, though it would necessarily comprehend more than the mere mechanical rudiments of knowledge.

We are far from being alarmists; we write neither under the influence of undue fear, nor with a wish to inspire undue fear into others. The opinions which we have expressed are founded on a careful observation of the proceedings and speeches of the Chartists, and of their predecessors in agitation in the manufacturing districts for many years, as reported in their newspapers; and have been as deliberately formed as they are deliberately expressed. We confess that we cannot contemplate with unconcern the vast physical force which is now moved by men so ignorant and so unprincipled as the Chartist leaders; and without expecting such internal convulsions as may deserve the name of *civil war*, we think it highly probable that persons and property will, in certain parts of the country, be so exposed to violence as materially to affect the prosperity of our manufactures and commerce, to shake the mutual confidence of mercantile men, and to diminish the stability of our political and social institutions. That the country will ultimately recover from these internal convulsions we think, judging from its past history, highly probable; but the recovery will be effected by the painful process of teaching the working classes, by actual experience, that the violent measures which they desire do not tend to improve their condition.

It is astonishing to us, that the party calling themselves Conservative should not lead the van in promoting the diffusion of that knowledge among the working classes which tends beyond any thing else to promote the security of property and the maintenance of public order. To restore the working classes to their former state of incurious and contented apathy is impossible, if it were desirable. If they are to have knowledge, surely it is the part of a wise and virtuous Government to do all in its power to secure to them useful knowledge, and to guard them against pernicious opinions.

We have already said that all instruction should be hallowed by the influence of religion; but we hold it to be equally absurd and short-sighted to withhold secular instruction, on the ground that religion is alone sufficient.

We do not, however, advocate that form of religious instruction which merely loads the memory, without developing the understanding, or which fails to stir the sympathies of our nature to their inmost springs. There is a form of instruction in religion which leaves the recipient at the mercy of any religious or political fanatic who may dare to use the sacred pages as texts in support of imposture. We have seen that even a maniac may lead the people to worship him as the Messiah, whose second coming, spoken of in the pages of Holy Writ, was fulfilled. Many of the Chartists proclaim themselves Missionaries of Christianity. They know how to rouse the superstition of an ignorant population in favour of their doctrines, by employing passages of Scripture the true meaning of which the uninstructed mass do not reach. They continually set before them those verses which speak of the rich man as an oppressor—which show with how much difficulty the rich shall enter the kingdom of heaven. Poverty is the Lazarus whom they place in Abraham's bosom—wealth the Dives whom they doom to hell. They find passages in the writings of the Apostles speaking of a community of goods among the early Christians: on

this they found the doctrines of the Socialists. Our Saviour, in the synagogue of Nazareth, opened the Scripture at the prophecy in which Isaiah describes His divine mission: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, &c.' From these and similar passages, they gather the sanctions of their own Mission. Christianity in their hands becomes the most frantic democracy, and democracy is clothed with the sanctions of religion. Even the arming of the Chartist association is derived from our Saviour's injunction, 'he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.' To such purposes may the Scriptures be wrested by unscrupulous men who have practised on the ignorance, discontent, and suffering of the mass.

Their power will continue as long as the people are without sufficient intelligence to discern in what the fearful error of such impiety consists. There are times in which it is necessary that every man should be prepared to give a reason for the faith that is in him. We loathe a merely speculative religion, which does not purify the motives, and which robs piety alike of humility and charity; but when the teachers of the great mass of the people unite the imposture of religious and political fanatics, preaching anti-social doctrines as though they were a gospel of truth, the knowledge of the people must be increased, and their intellectual powers strengthened, so as to enable them to grapple with the error and to overcome it.

Next to the prevalence of true religion, we most earnestly desire that the people should know how their interests are inseparable from those of the other orders of society; and we will not stop to demonstrate so obvious a truth as that secular knowledge, easily accessible, but most powerful in its influence, is necessary to this end.

If, on the other hand, an opponent of popular education should admit the existence of the evil and the sufficiency of the remedy, but should refuse to apply it because

it would violate his notions of the duty of the Government to diffuse the orthodox faith, we can only say that such a person is unfit for the government of men in the nineteenth century, and that he is sacrificing to his own opinions upon abstruse questions of theology, the certain and demonstrable temporal happiness of millions of his fellow-creatures.

CHAPTER III.

RECENT PROCEEDINGS OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT — LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S LETTER TO THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL — MINUTE OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL OF THE THIRD OF JUNE.

SINCE the reform of the Representation, the state of education in England has, during three sessions, occupied the attention of Committees of the House of Commons. It has also incidentally been brought under the notice of various Commissions of Inquiry and departments of administration; but the Government has not yet proposed to Parliament any general plan for the improvement and extension of primary education. The difficulty of devising a system consistent with the principles of civil and religious liberty, and at the same time capable of combining all parties and all religious denominations, has hitherto appeared to be insurmountable. The Government has therefore confined its interference to preliminary and experimental measures, which only indicate the embarrassment with which this question is surrounded, and its desire to surmount them.

Lord Althorp procured the consent of the House of Commons to a vote of £20,000, for the building of School-houses in England and Wales, which has since been annually voted, as well as the sum of £10,000 for similar purposes in Scotland. The appropriation of these grants was confided to the Treasury, by which, in England and Wales, they were distributed, through the medium of the National Society, and of the British and Foreign School Society.¹ On the 30th of August, 1833, the Chancellor

¹ *Copy of Treasury Minute, dated 30th August, 1833.*

My Lords read the Act of the last Session, by which a sum of £20,000 is

of the Exchequer proposed the rules contained in the subjoined note, to regulate the distribution of the sums annually voted by the House of Commons. Respecting the proceedings of the Treasury on these rules, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the recent debate in the House of Lords said, 'he would appeal to the consciences of the Clergy in general, whether with respect to the grant of £20,000, which of late years had been given by the Government, very laudably and liberally, to the Schools connected with the National School Society, and the Lancasterian School

granted to His Majesty to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of Schools for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer feeling it absolutely necessary that certain fixed Rules should be laid down by the Treasury for their guidance in this matter, so as to render this sum most generally useful for the purposes contemplated by the grant, submits the following arrangements for the consideration of the Board.

- 1st. That no portion of this sum be applied to any purpose whatever, except for the erection of new School-houses; and that in the definition of a School-house, the residence for Masters or Attendants be not included.
- 2nd. That no application be entertained unless a sum be raised by private contribution, equal at the least to one-half of the total estimated expenditure
- 3rd. That the amount of private subscription be received, expended, and accounted for, before any issue of public money for such School be directed.
- 4th. That no application be complied with, unless upon the consideration of such a Report, either from the National School Society, or the British and Foreign School Society, as shall satisfy this Board that the case is one deserving of attention, and there is a reasonable expectation that the School may be permanently supported.
- 5th. That the applicants whose cases are favourably entertained, be required to bind themselves to submit to any audit of their accounts which this Board may direct, as well as to such periodical Reports respecting the state of their Schools, and the number of scholars educated, as may be called for.
- 6th. That in considering the applications made to the Board, a preference be given to such applications as come from large cities and towns, in which the necessity of assisting in the erection of Schools is most pressing, and that due inquiries also be made before any such application be acceded to, whether there may not be charitable funds, or public and private endowments, that might render any further grants inexpedient or unnecessary.

In these suggestions My Lords concur.

Society, they had ever complained of the share which the Dissenters in the Lancasterian Schools had had in that grant. They took the share belonging to them, not only without complaint, but with thankfulness, and never inquired into the proportion in which it was distributed. They were satisfied with the grant, considering it as a temporary expedient. Lord Althorp said, when he brought forward the resolution, that he proposed it only as an experiment. It was an experiment, however, which had succeeded extremely well, and the money, as far as it went, had been most usefully expended. They considered it then as an experiment—as a temporary expedient—and no better could have been imagined as such; but, at the same time, they looked forward to the period when a permanent system would be established by Parliament,—when a plan of education would be definitively settled. They conceived that the whole matter would be referred to the consideration of the legislature, and that the liberality of Parliament would be, as it had been, distributed equally to all who might be entitled to it.

The exertions of the National and British and Foreign School Societies, in connexion with the assistance thus granted, are thus acknowledged in Lord John Russell's letter to the Lord President. 'It is some consolation to her Majesty to perceive that, of late years, the zeal for popular education has increased; that the Established Church has made great efforts to promote the building of Schools, and that the National, and British and Foreign School Societies, have actively endeavoured to stimulate the liberality of the benevolent and enlightened friends of general education.

'Still,' his Lordship continues, 'much remains to be done; and among the chief defects yet subsisting, may be reckoned the insufficient number of qualified Schoolmasters—the imperfect method of teaching which prevails in, perhaps, the greater number of the Schools—the absence of any sufficient inspection of the Schools, and examination of the nature of the instruction given—the

want of a Model School, which might serve for the example of those Societies and Committees which anxiously seek to improve their own methods of teaching; and finally, the neglect of this great subject among the enactments of our voluminous legislation.

‘Some of these defects appear to admit of an immediate remedy; and I am directed by Her Majesty to desire, in the first place, that your Lordship, with four other of the Queen’s servants, should form a Board or Committee for the consideration of all matters affecting the Education of the People.

‘For the present it is thought advisable that this Board should consist of

The Lord President of the Council.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department, and

The Master of the Mint.

‘It is proposed that the Board should be intrusted with the application of any sums which may be voted by Parliament for the purposes of Education in England and Wales.’

A Committee of Council on Education was accordingly appointed on the 10th of April, 1839—and it should be observed that the functions of the Committee are limited to ‘superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public Education.’ These functions are therefore precisely similar to those which were exercised by the Treasury in the years 1835, 6, 7, and 8.

The Committee of Council is equally amenable to Parliament, annually, for all its proceedings: the sum confided to it is not greater than that intrusted to the Treasury. As it consists of five responsible Members of the Cabinet, instead of only one, the security for correct administration is augmented, and its proceedings are, in all respects, rendered more open to observation, by their separation from the mass of details with which the Treasury is encum-

bered, and their transference to a department where they can obtain more constant and deliberate attention from the Executive. In all these respects the change is a great improvement, though it appears to have been the source of much groundless alarm.

But we perceive the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the recent debate in the House of Lords, remarked, 'He knew not if there was any objection in principle to the Committee appointed, but he should have thought the Lords of the Treasury were just as competent to judge of these matters as the Noble Lords named.'

In his letter to the Lord President of the Council, Lord John Russell proceeds to state, that 'among the first objects to which any grant may be applied, will be the establishment of a Normal School. In such a School a body of schoolmasters may be formed, competent to assume the management of similar institutions in all parts of the country. In such a School, likewise, the best modes of teaching may be introduced, and those who wish to improve the Schools of their neighbourhood may have an opportunity of observing their results.

'In any Normal or Model School to be established by the Board, four principal objects should be kept in view: namely, religious instruction, general instruction, moral training, and habits of industry. Of these four, I need only allude to the first. With respect to religious instruction, there is, as your Lordship is aware, a wide, or apparently wide, difference of opinion among those who have been most forward in promoting education.

'The National Society, supported by the Established Church, contend that the schoolmaster should be invariably a Churchman; that the Church Catechism should be taught in the School to all the scholars; that all should be required to attend church on Sundays, and that the Schools should be, in every case, under the superintendence of the clergyman of the parish.

'The British and Foreign School Society, on the other hand, admit Churchmen and Dissenters equally as school-

masters, require that the Bible should be taught in their **Schools**, but insist that no catechism should be admitted.

‘Others, again, contend that secular instruction should **be** the business of the School, and that the ministers of **different** persuasions should each instruct separately the **children** of their own followers.

‘In the midst of these conflicting opinions, there is not **practically** that exclusiveness among the Church societies, **nor** that indifference to religion among those who exclude **dogmatic** instruction from the School, which their mutual **accusations** would lead bystanders to suppose.

‘Much, therefore, may be effected by a temperate **attention** to the fair claims of the Established Church, and **the** religious freedom sanctioned by law.

‘On this subject I need only say, that it is her Majesty’s wish that the youth of this kingdom should be **religiously** brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected.’

The necessity for the immediate establishment of Normal Schools is demonstrated by the account given in the subjoined Table of the number of teachers (engaged in daily instruction, in various classes of Schools) who had received any previous preparation for their vocation, in the five large northern towns to which we have before referred, and in Westminster.

Accordingly the Minute of the proceedings of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, of the 11th of April, 1839, related chiefly to the plan of a Normal School. This plan was subsequently postponed, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining a concurrence of public opinion respecting the means to be adopted for the religious instruction of the children and teachers of different religious denominations in that School. We shall only remark here, that ‘religion’ was, in this School, ‘to be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline,’ as respected the children trained therein; and that ‘the religious instruction of the candidate teachers’ was ‘to form an essential and prominent

Number of Teachers of various Classes of Day and Evening Schools, and the number who have received any Education for their Employment, in the undermentioned places :—

	Dance Schools.			Common Boys' & Girls' Schools.			Superior Private Schools.			Evening Schools.			Infant School.			Endowed and Charity Schools.		
	Number of Teachers.	Number educated for their employment.	Not ascertained.	Number of Teachers.	Number educated for their employment.	Not ascertained.	Number of Teachers.	Number educated for their employment.	Not ascertained.	Number of Teachers.	Number educated for their employment.	Not ascertained.	Number of Teachers.	Number educated for their employment.	Not ascertained.	Number of Teachers.	Number educated for their employment.	Not ascertained.
Manchester .	230	..	8	179	29	11	114	24	9	83	7	4	5	..	..	24	5	8
Salford . .	65	10	..	42	8	..	29	14	..	28	7	..	3	..	..	13	2	..
Liverpool .	244	2	..	194	18	2	143	71	11	43	6	..	17	1	..	50	18	7
Bury . . .	30	2	..	17	2	..	8	6	..	6	..	..	2	..	..	4	2	..
York . . .	37	..	..	23	2	..	30	10	3	2	..	..	3	1	..	31	19	3
Totals .	606	14	8	435	59	13	324	125	23	162	20	4	30	2	..	122	46	15
Westminster (in 3 districts)																		
St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Clement's, Dance, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Paul, Covent Garden, and the Savoy . .	21	1	5	33	9	4	32	18	2	..	..	..	5	3	1	14	7	3
St. John and St. Margaret	63	12	..	41	20	..	24	20	..	..	..	..	6	4	..	23	12	2
St. George, St. James, and St. Anne, Soho . .	46	7	..	55	25	..	73	54	1	..	..	..	6	5	..	18	10	..
Totals .	130	20	5	129	54	4	129	92	3	..	..	..	17	12	1	55	29	5

element of their studies, and no certificate' was 'to be granted, unless the authorised religious teacher' had 'previously attested his confidence in the character, religious knowledge, and zeal of the candidate whose religious instruction he' had 'superintended.' The postponement of the establishment of a Normal School, has been represented as the temporary postponement only of this

particular plan, which, notwithstanding repeated assurances to the contrary in Parliament, it is contended may still be carried into execution during the recess. A perusal of the clause of the Report of the Committee of Council of the 3rd of June, which announces the postponement of any attempt to create a Normal School, will convince any candid reader that, as the whole proceedings of the Committee are annually dependent on the opinion and votes of the House, the Committee could only have referred to the 'greater concurrence of opinion,' as far as it influenced the decisions of Parliament, or, in other words, to the opinion of Parliament. The postponement of any proceedings respecting the Normal School was announced in the following terms, in the Report of the Committee of Council on the 3rd of June:—

'The Committee are of opinion that the most useful application of any sums voted by Parliament, would consist in the employment of those moneys in the establishment of a Normal School, under the direction of the State, and not placed under the management of a voluntary Society. The Committee, however, experience so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views respecting the provisions which they are desirous to make in furtherance of your Majesty's wish, that the children and teachers instructed in this School should be duly trained in the principles of the Christian religion, while the rights of conscience should be respected; that it is not in the power of the Committee to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this design without further consideration; and they therefore postpone taking any steps for this purpose until greater concurrence of opinion is found to prevail.'

As the Committee of Council have postponed to another year the establishment of a Normal School, we shall reserve to the close of these remarks our comments on the plan which they submitted to Parliament, and we proceed to point out in what respects the plan now proposed by the Committee of Council for the appropriation of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of pro-

moting public education, differs from that formerly adopted by the Treasury.

1. 'The Lords of the Committee recommend that the sum of £10,000, granted by Parliament in 1835, towards the erection of Normal or Model Schools, be given in equal proportions to the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society.

2. 'That the remainder of the subsequent grants of the years 1837 and 1838 yet unappropriated, and any grant which may be voted in the present year, be chiefly applied in aid of subscriptions for building, and, in particular cases, for the support of Schools connected with those societies; but that the rule hitherto adopted of making a grant to those places where the largest proportion is subscribed be not invariably adhered to, should application be made from very poor and populous districts, where subscriptions to a sufficient amount cannot be obtained.'

Thus far no objection appears to have been raised to the plan.

3. 'The Committee do not feel themselves precluded from making grants in particular cases which shall appear to them to call for the aid of Government, although the applications may not come from either of the two mentioned societies.'

The special exception thus made to the general rule may have been the source of some apprehension, and it certainly has been the subject of much misrepresentation. We find it difficult, however, to believe that if in any particular locality great destitution, combined with extreme ignorance and demoralisation, should be found to prevail, to which the plan of either of the two societies should be found to be absolutely inapplicable without some variation in deference to the right of conscience, any reasonable man, to whom authority to decide such a question was committed, having before him the Minutes of the Committee of Council, would not determine it somewhat in the following manner. The Minutes of the Committee plainly limit the application of the sums voted by Parlia-

ment to Schools connected with the two societies, with the exception of these particular cases. It is therefore evident that any deviation from the plans by which the two societies are distinguished from each other, and from other societies (*i. e.* the method of giving religious instruction), ought in such cases to be admitted on the plea of absolute necessity—the choice being between, on the one hand, ignorance and barbarism, and on the other, the erection of a School in which a variation from the plans of the two societies is admitted; and that, as the distinguishing characteristics of the two societies relate to religious instruction, this variation should be only such as would be required for the success of the School. One principle¹

is especially applicable to these cases,—*viz.*, that while the Government is most anxious that religious instruction should be united to secular, and will therefore grant all proper facilities for that purpose, the State is peculiarly charged with the duty of rendering secular instruction accessible to all, and with the improvement of the quality of such secular instruction, by assistance from the public funds and by constant superintendence.²

The particular regulation embraced in this clause of the Minute of the Committee of Council, provides for a cautious experimental application of the principle as a temporary expedient. Arrangements similar to those proposed by the Committee of the British and Foreign School, in their memorial dated 14th April 1838, would probably suffice in such exceptional cases, *viz.*, ‘That the Holy Scriptures should be read and taught in’ such ‘Schools, such instruction to form a part of the usual occupation of the School, and to be communi-

¹ Certain words omitted.

² Interlocutory remarks from Report of Debate in the House of Lords, and another sentence omitted, in consequence of a correspondence which was printed in the Preface to the tenth and succeeding editions of this Pamphlet. It is not necessary now to revive the memory of this discussion.

cated by the schoolmaster, but that the children of Catholics and Jews might, if their parents required it, be absent at such time, and that the children of Dissenters should not be compelled to learn any religious formulary or catechism to which their parents objected.'

4. 'The Committee recommend that no further grant be made, now or hereafter, for the establishment and support of Normal Schools, or of any other Schools, unless the right of inspection be retained, in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several Schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the Committee. A part of any grant voted in the present year may be usefully applied to the purposes of inspection, and to the means of acquiring a complete knowledge of the present state of education in England and Wales.'

We have seen that the inspection of Schools by a skilled agency is regarded by the Continental Governments as second only to the foundation of Normal Schools in its influence on the advancement of primary education. We have observed how well organised are the arrangements for the inspection of Schools in Holland. M. Cousin says, 'The Dutch legislators made no attempt at a master-piece of codification, in which the whole subject of primary instruction was to be divided and classed according to the rules of philosophical analysis; they went straight to their point by the shortest and the safest road; and as inspection must be the fundamental basis of primary Schools, it was inspection they established by law.' And in another place he says—'There are, by the law both of Prussia and Holland, salaried officers called Inspectors, selected because they are found to possess the requisite qualifications, who are responsible to Government for the whole of the primary Schools within a given district.' (Their powers are, therefore, vastly more extensive than any thing contemplated in the Minute of the Committee of Council). 'This is the true kind of government,' he adds, 'for primary Schools; and to determine how the organisation of that

government shall be most skilfully contrived is, in my mind, the vital question in a system of popular education.' M. Guizot, in his Report to the King of the French, on the execution of the Law of the 28th of June 1833, attaches at least equal importance to this measure, and describes in detail the means by which this inspection is accomplished throughout the whole of France. Lord Lansdowne, in the debate in the House of Lords, 'appealed to the experience of those Noble Lords who had sat upon the Committee of Inquiry into the state of Education in Ireland. He appealed to the experience of those Noble Lords whether they were not met at every step of their inquiry by evidence showing that some inspection of those Schools on behalf of the public was absolutely indispensable to their success as a means of education.'

The subjoined evidence of the Rev. J. C. Wigram, the Secretary of the National School Society, and of Mr. Dunn, the Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society, leads to the same conclusion.¹

¹ 'Rev. J. C. Wigram,—

'Chairman.] Do you not think that if the Government makes grants of money for the purpose of aiding Schools on either system, that they may fairly make it a condition that a due inspection of the Schools should take place, and that adequate returns should be made to Parliament to show that the Schools are well and efficiently conducted?—I think it would be very desirable that they should do so; and I think that they might promote that object very much, and with great benefit, by giving grants in aid of some places to the schoolmasters of certain districts, upon examinations reported, with all particulars, with respect to a certain number of Schools; for instance, that a return should be made of the particulars which they might determine, respecting not less than fifty Schools, and that some pecuniary reward should be given, to a different amount, to the five or six masters whose scholars were best conducted. Those examinations might be triennial, or at distant intervals; and in order to prevent the same man from always getting the reward, the prizes might be given with due reference to the circumstances of the School, and for different qualifications in the state of the School. It might be one year given for the intellectual state of the School; another year for retaining the scholars for a longer period; and other qualifications might be introduced. It has been done by the National Society to a small extent in many parts of the country, and with great benefit.'

'Henry Dunn, Esq.—

'Do you not think that one of the first steps towards any general plan of education for the humbler classes would be, the formation of such a board

After recommending the appointment of a Board of Education, the Committee of the British and Foreign School, in a Memorial addressed to Lord John Russell on the 14th of April 1838, say —

‘It has been suggested that great advantages would result if these Commissioners were brought, in the disposal of the public funds, into immediate correspondence with the Individual or Local Committee sustaining each separate School, instead of acting through the agency of any society or societies; this point seems well worthy of consideration; but, however this may be decided, the Committee would suggest—1st. That the Board should not interfere in any way with the religious instruction imparted in any School. 2nd. That it should not impose any terms or restrictions, except such as might be necessary in order to secure efficient teaching, and an adequate share of secular information.’

On this subject the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the recent debate on Education, said, ‘He conceived that the public when they made a grant for relief, should be assured

as the two great parties who have interested themselves in education in this country would have confidence in?—I think it would; and that then their efforts should be directed to improve the existing Schools rather than extend them. I should lay great stress upon that; there are a great number of Schools scattered throughout the country, of all kinds and descriptions, which, with inspection and a little assistance, might be rendered efficient Schools.

‘When you give an opinion as to the necessity of improving, rather than extending, existing Schools, you may not have gone into the detail of the want of efficient Schools in the towns of Lancashire?—No one can have a stronger impression than I have of the want of Schools; but I believe that the improvement of Schools leads to their extension.

‘Do you not think that it would be very practicable, supposing by any mode a sufficient fund was provided, to do both; that is, to improve, and at the same time gradually to extend, Schools for the humbler classes?—I quite think so; but to begin by extending is, I think, to begin at the wrong end; the first step should rather be to improve, and give efficiency to those which at present exist.

‘Do not you think that one necessary accompaniment of the Board to promote education would be some system of Inspectors, who should make returns to the Central Board of the degree of efficiency of the Schools, and the number attending, and who should make periodical visits to inquire and look into the state of the Schools?—I think it would be essential.’

of the efficiency of that relief. (Hear, hear.) Whenever a grant of public money was made, the public had a right to know that it had been properly applied; and he was satisfied that the public would be contented if they knew, that with the money which they had granted the secular instruction was properly applied to the people, leaving the religious instruction in the hands of the Church' (hear.) On these observations the Marquis of Lansdowne remarked, 'Would the Right Reverend Prelate forgive him for stating, that it had never entered into the mind of any member of the Committee of Privy Council to use the Inspectors as agents to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the religious education given in the Schools? What the Inspectors ought to interfere in was the more mechanical arrangements and improvements in education—improvements which ought to be introduced into all Schools, as they did not bear on any question of religion, but on a question which was all but of equal importance—he meant the training up of the scholars in those habits of discipline, of industry, and of employment (hear, hear), which ought to form part of every plan of general education.' (Hear, hear.)

On the propriety of a system of Inspection, and on the limits to be assigned to it, one fruit of the recent discussions in Parliament seems to be a concurrence of opinion in the highest authorities, and in the representatives of the Government and the Church.

The whole discussion tends to prove the importance, not to say the necessity, of an inquiry into the state of Education in England and Wales. Our precise statistical information is limited to a few districts in which the spontaneous exertions of individuals have collected facts. The knowledge we have of the extent of destitution is general only, and therefore not satisfactory to minds accustomed to a careful induction. Such an inquiry will doubtless prove of eminent service by stimulating the spontaneous exertions of society for the extension of education, and by diffusing information to guide its newly awakened zeal.

We may hope, by such means, also to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with the opinions of all classes on this momentous subject ; and that the wants and moral and social peculiarities of different districts may be examined, so that when the period arrives that a more comprehensive measure can be submitted to the Legislature, it may be welcomed by a greater concurrence of popular opinion.

CHAPTER IV.

EXAMINATION OF THE MINUTE OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL OF THE 11TH OF APRIL, RESPECTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORMAL SCHOOL, WHICH MINUTE IS NOW SUPERSEDED BY THAT OF THE 8RD OF JUNE.

THE most important part of the plan originally submitted by the Committee of Privy Council to Parliament, was, as we have said, abandoned in consequence of the difficulty encountered in attempting to reconcile a due regard to the legitimate claims of the Established Church with a respect for the rights of conscience. Though the establishment of a Normal School has been for the present postponed, it may be useful to show what were the views of the Committee of Privy Council respecting the principles on which such an establishment ought to be conducted, and on the details of its internal economy. The departments of religious and general instruction, and of moral and industrial training proposed in Lord John Russell's letter to the President of the Council were included as elements of the plan of this school. It will be most convenient to consider the arrangements for religious instruction last.

The Committee of Council appear from that Minute to have been impressed with the fact, that throughout the country the number of schools for the poorer classes is inadequate to the reception of those who need instruction, but that this defect, from its extent and notoriety, appears to withdraw attention in some degree, from the equally lamentable inefficiency of the teachers commonly employed in the primary schools, arising from their imperfect attainments, their ignorance of correct methods of instruction, and still more from their want of skill in training the

habits and developing the characters of the children, so as to prepare them for the persevering discharge of their duties in life. In many cases, the profession of the educator has fallen into the hands of persons who are destitute of means, not merely from want of ability, but from defects of character, and who resort to this calling after they have been proved to be unfit for any other. The exertions of the Clergy and Ministers in the religious instruction of the population would be materially assisted if the instruction of the children of the poor were given in such a form as not merely to inform their minds on their duties to God and to man, but to influence their habits and feelings, so that a sense of the true source of all moral and social obligations, might be not merely instilled as a precept on the understanding, but be imbibed from every part of the daily routine in such a way as to influence the life. It is feared, that the teachers now employed, often content themselves with requiring that the approved formularies be committed to memory.

In order to abate these evils the Committee of Council intended to found a school in which candidates might acquire knowledge necessary to the exercise of their future profession, and be practised in the most approved methods, both of moral training and instruction.

By such means alone can the parochial village, and town schools, as well as the endowed and charity and private schools throughout the country be supplied with teachers duly impressed with the great responsibilities of their vocation—entering on the discharge of their functions, as on a mission of truth and civilisation—and furnished with such attainments, such skill in the practice of their art—with minds and habits so disciplined, as to fit them to become at once the guides and the companions, the instructors and the foster parents of the children whose temporal and eternal welfare is committed to their care.

Such a school necessarily included a Model School in which children might be taught and trained, and it appeared expedient that it should comprise children of all

ages from three to fourteen, in sufficient numbers to form **an Infant School**, as well as schools for children above **seven**. A considerable portion of the children were to **board and lodge** in the establishment, in order that the **means of moral training** might be proportionately more **complete**, and opportunities afforded to the candidate **teachers** for acquiring a knowledge of the method of **regulating** the moral condition of such a household greater **than any** which could be obtained in a school attended **solely or chiefly** by day scholars.

The Model School, thus formed, would have afforded **examples of approved methods of instruction** in each stage of proficiency and in each department of knowledge. The **earliest information** of all improvements would have been obtained; they would have been systematically examined, and introduced when approved, in that form which might appear to render them most easily applicable to the wants of the country. Industrial and moral training were to be developed, so as constantly to give a practical tendency to the entire instruction of the school, supplying the future handicraftsman, or domestic servant, with the knowledge required in his station, and reducing precept to habit.

The Model and Normal School were to have been beneath the superintendence of a Rector, acting under the regulation of the Committee of Council. The selection of teachers, and of candidates for the office of teacher, would have been a subject of great difficulty and importance. Diligent inquiry, under direction of the Committee of the Privy Council, concerning their previous habits and associations, an examination of their attainments, evidence of gentleness of disposition, and a fondness for the duties of an educator, together with a sense of the secular and religious responsibility of the office, would have been essential preliminaries to the admission of a candidate teacher.

The internal organisation of the Model School indicates the method of instruction which was to have been adopted. The Committee of Council proposed to arrange the classes

in separate rooms, or sections of the same apartment, divided by partitions, so as to enable the simultaneous method to be applied to forty or fifty children of similar proficiency. The Committee intended also to use the gallery, commonly employed only in the Infant School, as a means of giving lessons on objects of sense, or requiring illustrations from objects of sense, to the older children in larger bodies than when assembled in the classes for mere technical instruction. The gallery would also have been used at periods when the teacher desired to assemble the children for serious moral admonition. Such arrangements would have enabled each teacher not merely to convey his instructions with greater success, shut out from the noise and confusion incident to the assemblage of large numbers in the same room, but to have cultivated moral relations with his scholars, who would gradually have learned to regard him with affection as well as respect, resulting from the paternal character of the discipline. All the lessons in which it is important that the sympathies should be awakened, as well as the understanding, might be conveyed by the teacher in a more impressive manner in a separate apartment than in the large hall of a school filled with some hundreds of children. Without such arrangements, the design of the Committee of Council to interweave moral training with the whole tissue of instruction would not have been fulfilled; and the teachers must have been content with whatever success they could attain in the merely *intellectual* advancement of their pupils.

The simultaneous instruction which the Committee of Council apparently intended to combine with the monitorial or mutual instruction prevalent in this country, depends for its efficacy on the fact that, by the simultaneous method, the mind of the teacher may be more constantly in contact with that of every child under his care. The moral agencies employed are, under such a method, greatly superior to those in operation where the child receives instruction chiefly, if not wholly, from a boy but little older than himself.

The successful prosecution of the simultaneous method supposes that the teacher is accustomed to a careful analysis of the subjects of instruction to their simplest elements, and that he proceeds by a suggestive method from the previous limits of the child's knowledge, that is, from the most simple and rudimentary facts to those which are the result of combination. In this process each step is accompanied by a corresponding exercise of the child's mind, which finds a natural pleasure in pursuing a process of induction stimulating it to exertion. To learn is no longer a task, but a pleasure; the teacher successfully appeals to the sense of utility and the natural desire to know and combine, which are ordinarily discouraged by the difficulties attending an opposite method. The discipline of the school naturally acquires a milder character with willing pupils than with the sluggish or perverse; and the educator depends on his skill in rendering the pursuit of knowledge attractive, rather than on a resort to the inferior stimulus of rewards and punishments.

The Committee were of opinion that industrial instruction forms an important element of the routine of a Model School, probably not only because it practically inculcates the great lesson of industry, but also because it tends to give a special character to the matter of instruction in the school, keeping it in close relation with the condition of workmen and servants, and engrafting whatever is new on habits and pursuits which are necessary and permanent.

The candidate teachers were to reside in the Normal School in order that their habits and characters might be under the constant observation of the Rector and his assistant teachers.

The class-rooms were to be so constructed as to afford the candidate teachers an opportunity of attending the lessons without distracting the attention of the children or of the teacher.

Means were to be provided for the instruction of the candidate teachers in the theory of their art, and for fur-

nishing them with whatever knowledge is requisite for success in it.

The superintendence of their studies and the general regulation of their conduct would have devolved on the Rector of the School. He would have given lectures on the method and matter of instruction, and the whole art of training children of the poor. Each course of study would have been conducted by him, as well as the reading and the exercise and examination of the candidate teachers. The order in which they were admitted to the practice of their art in the school, and at length entrusted with the conjoint management of the classes, together with their ultimate examination and certificate would have been chiefly regulated by him.

The candidate teachers were to conform to such regulations respecting the internal economy of the household, as might have been issued by the Rector with the approval of the Committee of Privy Council.

In the Model School it would have been desirable to have had accommodation for at least 450 children, who should lodge in the household, viz., 120 infants, 200 boys and girls receiving ordinary instruction, and 50 boys and 50 girls receiving special instruction, leaving 30 children absent from sickness or other causes. Such arrangements would have enabled the teachers to conduct the school with complete success on the best methods, and thus to afford to the candidate teachers the best opportunity of acquiring the art of teaching.

But in order to enable the teachers to realise the application of these methods under all the limitations and obstructions which must arise in a small village or town day-school, it was deemed desirable that a day school of 150 or 200 children, of all ages and both sexes, should form part of the establishment.

Here the candidate teacher would have learned the limitations which the organisation and method pursued in the larger school must undergo when the numbers are reduced, and when all ages are assembled in the same

room : and would have become acquainted with the expedients to be adopted under varying circumstances ; for example when the number was even still further reduced by the prevalence of sickness, by the inclemency of the weather, or by the caprice of parents. He would have been taught how to communicate with the parents respecting the conduct, health, and progress of their children—respecting the payment of the school fees, the management of the children at home, and their observance of their religious duties morning and evening, and on the Sunday. The industrial training of children in day schools also has some peculiarities, and their moral training is liable to interference from the parents and other external circumstances, over which the teacher has little control, and is certainly limited in its operation to the period spent in the school and exercise ground.

The progress of education would probably soon, under the influence of the Normal School, have multiplied the number of Rural Schools of Industry, so as to have enabled the candidate teachers to visit other Model Schools near the metropolis, where they might have completed their acquaintance with the modifications required by limitations and obstructions incidental to the different situations of the schools. The teachers having charge of schools in London and its vicinity might have been admitted to the Rector's lectures, and to certain of his classes.

Teachers having charge of schools, whether in the metropolis or elsewhere, might, during the holidays common to such establishments, have been permitted to attend the school.

Conferences of teachers trained in the Seminary would probably have occurred, under regulations issued by the Committee of Privy Council ; at those conferences the Rector might have presided—the teachers might have given an account of their schools, of the difficulties which they had encountered and overcome, and especially of

any improvement in apparatus or method, &c. of sufficient importance for consideration.

That the benefits derivable from such an Institution are almost incalculably great appears to be universally admitted. The want of teachers thus furnished with all the acquirements necessary for their honourable station—thus trained in correct methods of teaching—with habits of thought and demeanour so disciplined as to enable them to sustain a moral dignity while they mingle with the sports, sympathise with the feelings, yet elevate the thoughts of children—capable of making knowledge attractive by the simplicity and kindness with which it is imparted—imbued with a deep sense of their religious responsibilities, and hallowing all their moral instruction by a constant reference to the sanctions of religion—the want of such men is felt by every clergyman and gentleman who takes an interest in the condition of the labouring families on his estates, and by every member of the middle classes who recognises in the present condition of the poor proofs of the fatal void in our national institutions.

Deeply, therefore, do we regret the difficulty experienced in devising any method by which the religious instruction of children and teachers can be reconciled in such an establishment, with due regard to the rights of conscience.

The regulations contained in the Minute of the Committee of Council of the 11th of April 1839, now superseded, were—

‘Religious instruction to be considered as general and special.

‘Religion to be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline.

‘Periods to be set apart for such peculiar doctrinal instruction as might be required for the religious training of the children.

‘To appoint a chaplain to conduct the religious in-

struction of children whose parents or guardians belong to the Established Church.

‘ The parent or natural guardian of any other child to be permitted to secure the attendance of the licensed minister of his own persuasion, at the period appointed for special religious instruction, in order to give such instruction apart.

‘ To appoint a licensed minister to give such special religious instruction, wherever the number of children in attendance on the Model School belonging to any religious body dissenting from the Established Church, is such as to appear to this Committee to require such special provision.

‘ A portion of every day to be devoted to the reading of the Scriptures in the school, under the general direction of the Committee, and superintendence of the Rector. Roman Catholics, if their parents or guardians require it, to read their own version of the Scriptures, either at the time fixed for reading the Scriptures, or at the hours of special instruction.’

These regulations had reference to the religious instruction of the children in the Model School only, and it was not the intention of the Committee of Council to propose similar regulations for the adoption of any other School, much less was this School intended in this respect as a type of schools to be established in different parts of the country. On the contrary, the sum voted by the Committee of the House of Commons was to have been distributed to Schools in connection with the National and the British and Foreign School Societies, with certain exceptional cases only, admitted in consequence of the inapplicability of the rules of those societies in neighbourhoods where extreme ignorance and destitution appeared to demand the interference of Government for the civilisation of the people.

The Committee of Privy Council appear to have considered it unnecessary to descend into an explanation of all the more minute regulations by which the instruction

of the children in the principles of the Christian religion was to have been guarded ; but their views appear in all their leading features to be so strictly in accordance with those of that able and pious prelate, Daniel Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, as developed in regulations which he proposed to the Committee of the Martinière, that we feel bound to state the most material parts of those regulations.¹

This institution owed its existence to the following extraordinary circumstances:—An English private soldier by great merit rose from the ranks in India, was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and amassed a great fortune. At his death he bequeathed his wealth for general education, without reference to the creed of those who partook of the benefits of the institution to be founded.

It was the wish of the Bishop of Calcutta to have founded this institution on the express doctrines and discipline of the Church of England only ; but finding that the intentions of the founder were that the benefits of the institution should be extended to all persons, without distinction of creed, he proposed and strenuously advocated the plan described in the report, comprehending, as he says, ‘all the great doctrines of redemption, as held by the *five main divisions of the Christian world—the English, the Scotch, the Roman Catholic, the Greek, and the Armenian churches—as our fundamental principles—leaving the minister of each church to supply instructions on the sacraments and matters of discipline to the children of their own communions respectively.*’ The following are extracts from the Report, signed by the Committee, and adopted unanimously by the Board, and, we may add, republished by the Bishop in his own vindication.

¹ The statements of the Bishop of Calcutta, and of his Chaplain and others, made it subsequently apparent that the regulations of the Martinière were adopted as special and exceptional provisions to meet a peculiar case. J. P. K. S. 1862.

‘ Report, &c. of the Committee appointed to frame a Plan, &c.

‘I. Your Committee submit, that in order to meet the first rule adopted by the Honourable Governors, the religious instruction of the children must be divided into two parts,—*the one general, the other particular*: the one embracing the fundamental truths of Christianity, as they are held in common by the five great existing divisions of Christendom enumerated in the rule; the other relating to discipline, church government, the sacraments, and other matters on which differences more or less important exist. Your Committee consider that the first part should be taught, daily and publicly, to all the children by the head master of the School; the second, privately, and on particular days, by the ministers and teachers whom the parents of the respective children may, with the approbation of the Governors, select.

‘II. The following are the main truths held in common, on which the public religious instruction should, in your Committee’s opinion, proceed.

1. The Being of God; his unity and perfections.
2. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, a revelation inspired by the Holy Ghost.
3. The mystery of the adorable Trinity.
4. The Deity, Incarnation, Atonement, and Intercession of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.
5. The fall and corruption of man; his accountableness and guilt.
6. Salvation through grace by the meritorious sacrifice and redemption of Christ.
7. The personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit, and his operations and grace in the sanctification of man.
8. The indispensable obligation of repentance towards God, faith in Christ, and continual prayer for the grace of the Holy Spirit.
9. The moral duties which every Christian is bound to perform towards God, his neighbour, and himself, as they

are summed up in the Ten Commandments, and enlarged upon in other parts of the Holy Scriptures ; all based on the doctrines above specified, and enforced as their proper fruits.

‘ III. As to the first of these branches of the religious instruction—the public and general—the Committee recommend that it be chiefly drawn from the Holy Scriptures themselves ; such simple instruction being given by the masters and mistresses in a catechetical form as may be adapted to the capacities of the children, on the points which fall within the limits of the public teaching ; all matters which belong to the private, or which touch on controversy, being sedulously avoided.

‘ With respect to versions of the Scriptures, your Committee will offer their opinion under a subsequent rule.

‘ V. The second branch of the religious instruction—the private and particular—will require no regulations from your Committee ; it will be merely supplementary ; so that what is, in the judgment of the parents and guardians of the respective children, omitted, or insufficiently taught in public, may thus be supplied. In this private teaching the entire Catechisms of the different churches, and the versions of the Holy Scriptures approved by them, may of course be freely used.

‘ VII. We come next to the subject of family devotional exercises, and the public worship of Almighty God.

‘ The daily morning and evening family prayers, your Committee suggest, should be read by the Head Master from a Form of Prayer extracted from different liturgies, which we have prepared, and which accompanies these rules. On these occasions all the children of both sexes, and all the masters and mistresses, with all the Christian members of the household, should attend.

‘ The family devotions should not exceed ten or fifteen minutes altogether in length.

‘ The masters and mistresses are to allow also a few minutes to the children for private prayer, before they retire to bed at night and when they rise in the morning.

‘On Sunday mornings, your Committee think all the children should be conducted to their respective churches and chapels for the worship of the Almighty, in the manner and after the rites approved by their parents.

‘On Sunday evenings they recommend that the ordinary family devotions be read, with the addition of a suitable sermon, to be approved of by the governors.

‘The same to be done also on Sunday mornings, when circumstances may prevent the children from going out; with the addition of a Litany extracted from one or more of the Liturgies of different churches.

‘VIII. As it respects versions of the Holy Scriptures, your Committee are not aware that the Greek and Armenian churches have any English version of their own. The English and Scotch churches use the authorised English version. It remains only that the case of the church of Rome be considered, which has long possessed an English version of its own—that of Douay and Rheims; we recommend that, whenever the Roman Catholic children are required to have the Holy Scriptures in their hands, and to learn lessons, or receive direct religious instruction from them, this version be permitted to be employed; the copies being of course without notes or indexes which touch on controversy, and the master taking care to range the children in different classes, so that no confusion may arise by the variations in the readings.

‘As this, however, could not be done in family prayer, where all the children of all classes and each sex, as well as the Christian household, are assembled together, we are of opinion that the portions of Holy Scripture, directed to be read as a part of the doctrines, should be taken from the authorised English version: the selection being, of course, subject to the provisions of the foregoing rules.

‘Your Committee do not know that they need proceed more into detail. Much will and ought to be left to the head master, if he be a man of piety, talent, discretion, and temper. His suggestions, founded on experience, will be of the greatest value. Much will also depend on

the number, description, age, and capacities of the children. But your Committee feel a great confidence that by this union of public and religious instruction, on the basis of the great doctrines of redemption held by the universal church, with the private inculcation of what regards church discipline, the sacraments, and other matters of controversy, *the practical blessings of a Christian education may be conveyed to the children, without indifference and latitudinarianism on the one hand, or a spirit of debate and proselytism on the other.*

‘ DANIEL CALCUTTA,

‘ ROBERT S. LEGER, V. A.,

‘ JAMES CHARLES.

‘August 31, 1835.’

It is scarcely necessary to add, that this Report is not inserted in this place on the presumption that it anticipates in all its details the plan which the Committee of Council had prepared. On the contrary, we have already been publicly informed, that on no occasion did the Committee of Council intend that different versions of the Scriptures should be used *in the same apartment* in the Model School, but only in separate rooms. We need not more particularly allude to other details upon which the Committee of Council have expressed no opinion; but we have quoted these extracts from this Report of the Committee of the Martinière, to show that one of the ablest and most pious prelates that ever shed the lustre of a comprehensive and highly-cultivated mind and of eminent Christian virtues on society and the church, has lent the authority of his name to regulations conceived in the same spirit of Christian charity as that part of the Minute of the Committee of Council of the 11th of April by which the religious instruction of the children in the Model School was to be regulated. By such means the Bishop of Calcutta believes ‘the practical blessings of a Christian education may be conveyed to the children without indifference and latitudinarianism on the one hand, or a spirit of debate and proselytism on the other.’

This Report may at least serve as a complete answer to the question which the Archbishop of Canterbury asked in the House of Lords, respecting 'the meaning of general instruction in Christianity.' We refer him to the Bishop of Calcutta's solution of that question.

Then as to the Minute, 'Religion to be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline,' the Archbishop said, 'he was at a loss how this was to be carried into effect.' The answer is contained in the Report signed by the Bishop of Calcutta.

On this question, the Bishop of London quoted the opinion of Professor Thiersch respecting the Seminary of Teachers at Kayerslautern. We solicit our readers' attention to the very passage which the Right Reverend Prelate read to the House of Lords. The Professor, on whom the Bishop passed so just an eulogium, respects the ennobling sentiments of Christian charity which induced the Government, in the circle of the Rhine, to establish a common seminary for teachers. 'In the Bavarian circle of the Rhine,' he says, 'there is but one seminary for teachers. This is too little, both for the number of pupils to be instructed and for the wants of different confessions. It was rightly observed to me at the Training Seminary of Neuwied, by its excellent director Braun, that an institution of this kind flourishes better the more nearly it approximates to a family circle; and as its object is not so much instruction as education, that about thirty-six is the largest number it should contain. Besides, many arguments recommend the division of the seminary according to confessions of faith. I know and respect the motives which dictated that, in the circle of the Rhine, both confessions (Protestant and Romanist) should be united in a single seminary, in the advantages of which even the future rabbis should be allowed to participate. But it is conceivable, and the experience of other countries shows that it is found, that when seminaries are divided, toleration may be secured both among teachers and communities; indeed,

that this is more effectually attained, the more each confession is secured in its real wants. Among these wants it would seem that the education and instruction of the persons to whom elementary Schools are to be intrusted must be especially included ; and since such an education cannot be conceived unless its basis is firmly laid in the knowledge of some Christian confession, therefore the division of seminaries according to modes of faith, as happens in Nassau, in Prussia, and perhaps one may say in every other country, is necessarily required.' Apparently adopting the erroneous opinion that the plan of religious instruction proposed for the Model School only was to be extended to other Schools, the Bishop also referred, in support of his argument, to the opinion of M. Guizot, when, as Minister of Public Instruction in France, he was intrusted with the execution of the Law of the 28th of June 1833. This opinion was extracted from a circular addressed to the French Préfets on the 24th of July 1833. The Bishop quoted only part of the paragraph of the circular relating to this question ; we will give the whole, and we shall then request our readers' attention to the opinion of M. Cousin in his Report to the Chamber of Peers, as the head of the Commission charged with the examination of the ' *Projet de Loi* ' on Primary Instruction in 1833. M. Guizot says, ' In those communes in which the inhabitants profess different forms of religion recognised by the State, Schools particularly attached to each of these religious denominations may be established with consent of the Municipal Council, and under my authorisation. It is, in general, desirable that children whose parents do not profess the same religious opinions, should early contract, by frequenting the same Schools, those habits of natural good-will and tolerance which will grow into sentiments of justice and union when they become fellow-citizens. It may, however, sometimes be necessary, even with a view to the public peace, that separate Schools should be opened in the same commune for each faith.' So far the Bishop, who omitted what follows, ' You will

be careful to transmit to me before the 5th of September a Report of the deliberations of the Municipal Councils on this subject, with your suggestions. It will possibly happen that in some communes of mixed faith, the elections will have sent to the Municipal Council men only of one religious denomination, and the Councils thus formed might show themselves inclined to support only one School, notwithstanding local circumstances, such as old and deeply rooted dissensions, the importance of the population, or some other cause, might render the opening of a second School very desirable. I recommend you to examine with the greatest care the remonstrances which may be made against the designs of the Municipal Councils. You will communicate with them to ascertain their opinion — you will then send it to me with your own—and you will inform me what is the number of inhabitants belonging to each religious community, as well as all the facts necessary to illustrate the decision I shall have to form.

‘Bear in mind, M. le Préfet, that the efficacy, as well as the liberty of religious education, and the security of families in this respect, are the principal considerations which ought to guide the administration in this matter.’

We find nothing here but a provision against the intolerance of a dominant sect, which might abuse the regulations of the Communal School, so as to make its religious instruction agree chiefly, if not solely, with its own views, and be a subject of vexation or suspicion to the other religious persuasion.

But we may learn from M. Cousin’s Report to the Chamber of Peers in what spirit the Law of Primary Instruction in France was conceived. Concerning article 2, the Commission say they ‘cannot but applaud the homage rendered to liberty of conscience, and to the sacred rights of parents, by the declaration, that the wishes of parents shall always be consulted and complied with in whatever concerns the participation of their children in religious instruction.’

Again—‘The ninth article of the project of the Government attached at least one public elementary School to

each commune; and it is evident that to compel a commune to have *one*, was not forbidding it to have *several*, if it could maintain them; and that in this case the children of the commune should be distributed in the best way possible. A vast number of urban communes have several Schools; and then, instead of dispersing through them all the children of different communions, it is the constant practice of the local authorities to collect the children of one communion in one School, whenever they are numerous enough to compose a whole School, and the local resources allow it. The Chamber of Deputies has deemed this practice sufficiently important to find a place in the law. This is a fresh homage to religious liberty, to which we subscribe; and we propose to adopt the amendment of the Chamber of Deputies, wording it as follows:—"In case local circumstances permit, the Minister of Public Instruction may, after hearing the Municipal Council, authorise, as Communal Schools, the Schools more peculiarly attached to any one of the modes of public worship recognised by the State."

'Thus, when there is but one School, all sects will frequent it, and will there receive a common instruction which, without injury to religious liberty (placed under the perpetual security of Article 2), will strengthen the ties which ought to unite all the children of the same country. Whenever there are several Schools in a commune, the several sects shall be divided; but these different Schools shall all be established on the same footing, and with the same title: they shall all enjoy the same dignity, and all the inhabitants of the commune shall contribute to their common support; as, in a higher sphere, all the citizens contribute to the general tax which goes to the maintenance of the different churches. This measure of perfect tolerance appears to us conformable to the true spirit of religion, favourable to the public peace, worthy of the intelligence of our age and of the munificence of a great nation.'

Now it cannot be too constantly borne in mind that the

regulations of the Committee of Privy Council respecting **the** religious instruction of children of different sects in **one** School, related only to the Model School, and that, as **we** have said before, the Committee (with rare exceptions **admitted** on the plea of urgent necessity only) intended to **confine** the application of the money voted by Parliament **to** the assistance of Schools connected with the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The **Bishop** of London's argument was therefore addressed **against** a plan which was not contained in the Minutes of **the** Committee of Privy Council, and to represent which, **as** within their contemplation, would be an unwarrantable assumption. But if the spirit of the French Law, **to** which the Right Reverend Prelate appealed, be in **harmony** with his Lordship's views, we shall rejoice to reckon so able an advocate among the champions of civil and religious liberty.

The inferences which Professor Pillans draws from the practice of the German states to which the Bishop of London referred, and from the circular addressed by M. Guizot to the Préfets of France, are exactly the opposite of those which the Bishop of London conceives himself entitled to make. As we have quoted the extracts alluded to by the Right Reverend Prelate, we place in contrast with his inferences those of the able Head-Master of the High School, and now Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh.

‘Are you aware what is the system in Germany in that respect (of religion)?—I should say the arrangements in Germany upon that subject are extremely liberal, and, with every anxiety for religious instruction, provide at the same time for the cases of different religions with the greatest attention, and with the most perfect impartiality.

‘Do you not suppose that a sufficient religious education could be conveyed without the conveyance, at the same time, of any peculiar religious doctrine?—I am disposed to think so as regards children, both because I think that the doctrines of our religion, as far as they have a tendency

to influence the habits and practice of the young, may be separated and kept distinct from the peculiar opinions of any one sect, and because such opinions embodied in any school-books, I should consider as nearly ineffectual for any purpose at all, turning, as they generally do, upon points which are altogether beyond the comprehension of the young mind ; and therefore it is that I think it most of all desirable to have a system of religious instruction for Schools founded upon the Scriptures, but directed only to those parts of the sacred volume which have a moral tendency, and which are likely to influence the conduct, cherish the best affections, and regulate the behaviour of the young. I am fortified in that opinion by the example of the German States, where the School instruction is founded on this principle, as well as of France, where the law on that head is very nearly a transcript of the German.

‘Has it ever suggested itself to you, in the matter of teaching religion, that teaching theology is one thing, and inculcating religious habits is another?—Yes, I think that is obvious, though certainly not sufficiently attended to in practice.

‘In the creation of religious habits, do not all sorts of Christians agree, as far as you have had an opportunity of considering the subject of teaching?—I think so.

‘Supposing that we wanted to teach theology to pupils, the teaching of theology would be like the teaching of any other science?—It certainly requires a matured understanding to deal with subjects so deep and difficult; nor can it be a very profitable employment for the mind of a child to be turned to points of doctrine upon which, from its very nature, it cannot be informed.

‘So that, in fact, the business of a teacher of the people, considering the matter of national education, would be to form religious habits ; and those might be formed in a national School which did not impose any dogmata upon the minds of the pupils?—I should say so certainly ; at the same time I wish it to be understood, that by dogmata I mean the peculiar tenets of any particular sect : the

leading and distinctive doctrines of Christianity ought not to be omitted. It is these only, I conceive, that are within the province of the schoolmaster, his vocation being more of a literary than of an ecclesiastical character.

‘Assuming that there is a general coincidence in all Christian sects, those truths might be taught in a national School, without trenching upon any religious differences that might exist between them?—I think they might.

‘And, therefore, if there were a spirit of forbearance among the Christian sects at this time existing in England, there would, in reality, be no objection on this score to the institution of a national education?—Not the least, I should think. There is in the present day, as far as I have observed, less of excitement and mutual hostility between the different sects in Germany and France than in England; and, accordingly, in the ministerial and official instructions sent out to the prefect of the circle or department, as well as to the teachers themselves, they are strongly enjoined to encourage mixed Schools, where the children may practically learn the principle of toleration and mutual forbearance; and where that cannot be done, the authorities are invited to take every means to provide such religious instruction apart as shall be thought necessary, or even to form separate Schools. The last, however, they consider as a resource not to be resorted to, unless all means of uniting the two persuasions shall be found unavailing.

‘Do you not suppose that the teaching of various sects in one School, under that system of Catholic faith, if it may be so called, would very much tend to promote general kindliness amongst the whole population?—I think so desirable an object most likely to be attained by such a joint and mixed system. Judging both from reason and experience, I should say it is a result that could scarcely fail to take place.

‘Do you not think a true Christian feeling would be created by such a system of National Education?—I do.

‘Do you consider that, in any way, the interests of

religion would be injured by such a system? — On the contrary, it appears to me that the amount of religious feeling and true Christianity would be increased very considerably by such an arrangement, inasmuch as we are all taught to believe, and cannot help believing, who are familiar with the Scriptures and the New Testament, that brotherly love is the first of Christian virtues.'

The religious instruction of the candidate teachers in the Normal School was, by the regulations of the Committee of Privy Council, to be in strict conformity with the tolerant principles which have characterised our modern legislation.

The regulation contained in the Minute of the 11th of April was as follows:—'The religious instruction of all candidate teachers connected with the Established Church to be committed to the chaplain, and the special religious instruction to be committed (in any case in which a wish to that effect is expressed) to the licensed minister of the religious persuasion of the candidate teacher, who is to attend the School at stated periods, to assist and examine the candidate teachers in their reading on religious subjects, and to afford them spiritual advice.'

Let us inquire whether the Dissenters of England are entitled to so much respect in the regulations of a Normal School. We may ascertain their title to consideration by examining the degree in which they have spontaneously assumed the charge of the primary education of the people of this country. If we find them in charge of a considerable amount of the primary education at present provided for the people, those who will not listen to right may perhaps be inclined to bend to necessity; or those who refuse to admit the principle must contrive to dispose of the fact. And here, we again find ourselves greatly indebted to the labours of the London and Manchester Statistical Societies. In the towns of Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, York, and Birmingham, comprising an estimated population of 713,000 inhabitants, the following Table exhibits the number of children receiving instruction in

the Sunday Schools of different religious classes, and also affords similar information respecting the three divisions of Westminster, comprising 215,000 inhabitants

	Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, York, and Birmingham.			Westminster in Three Divisions.		
	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars on book.	Average attendance.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars on book.	Average attendance.
Church Establishment	96	27,151	21,772	14	2115	1517
Dissenters	171	49,675	39,412	26	4152	2794
Catholics	16	5686	4563	—	—	—
Unconnected with any Religious Body	1	150	65	—	—	—
Total	284	82,662	65,812	40	6267	1311

NOTE. In the case of Birmingham, the average attendance is not specified; it is therefore presumed to be the same as the number of scholars on books.

The number of Sunday Schools in these towns under the Church Establishment was 107; under Dissenters, 197; under Catholics, 16; unconnected with any religious body, 4. The average attendance of scholars at the Church Schools was 22,841; at those of Dissenters, 42,206; at Catholic Schools, 4563; and at Schools unconnected with any religious body, 513.

The Table referred to in the note contains these facts in detail for the five northern towns.¹

The religious profession of the teachers of the various classes of day and evening Schools in Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, and York, and in Westminster, is shown in the summary (p. 273), proving to what extent Dissenters have charge of the common daily instruction of the children of the middle and lower classes in the great towns of this country.

In the above classes of Schools, out of 2159 teachers, 1185 were members of the Established Church; 170 were Catholics; and 730 Dissenters; while the religious profession of 74 teachers was not ascertained.

¹ See Appendix, Table No. IV.

	NORTHERN TOWNS.					WESTMINSTER.				
	Number of Teachers.	Established Church.	Catholics.	Dissenters.	Not ascertained.	Number of Teachers.	Established Church.	Catholics.	Dissenters.	Not ascertained.
Dame Schools	606	285	62	240	19	130	97	—	29	4
Common boys' and girls' Schools	455	209	60	163	23	129	100	2	22	5
Superior boys' and girls' Schools	324	177	11	130	6	129	110	—	17	2
Infant Schools	30	18	1	11	—	17	12	—	5	—
Charity and Endowed Schools	119	74	8	34	3	55	36	2	14	3
Evening Schools	165	67	24	65	9	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1699	830	166	643	60	460	355	4	87	14

We are indebted to the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Hand-loom Weavers for the following statement of the condition of popular education in the city of Coventry, and the contiguous weaving districts of the ribbon manufacture, as collected by their secretary, Joseph Fletcher, Esq.

‘From an accompanying Table¹ it will be seen,

‘1st. That the population of the City and Weaving District of Coventry in 1831, was somewhat more than 55,000, and must now, therefore, reckoning on an increase of 15 per cent., which that of the previous period more than justifies, be no less than 63,000.

‘2nd. That the number of healthy children, *from two to fourteen years of age*, which the modern prevalence of Dame and Infant Schools in our manufacturing districts marks as the limits of the School ages, is therefore about 15,000, or nearly one-fourth of the population; the proportion of those from 5 to 15 in the City and County of

¹ It has not been considered necessary to reprint this Table in the Appendix in confirmation of the late Mr. Fletcher's statement, which was not challenged at any time. J. P. K. S. 1862.

the City in 1821, being between one-fifth and one-fourth, according to the census.

‘3rd. That besides the children of the richer classes at the City Free Grammar School, and about twenty-five private Schools, there are 9369 children receiving instruction of some kind, so that the total number of children receiving instruction will be about *two-thirds* of those from two to fourteen years of age, while the other *third*, are under no School discipline whatever, even on the Sabbath.

‘4th. That of the total number receiving instruction, only 2957, or scarcely *one-third*, receive any whatever in *private* Schools, at the cost of their parents; and of this number, excepting the children who attend the very few pay Schools which give an instruction similar to that of the ordinary Lancasterian Schools, *nearly the whole* are in Dame Schools, or subscription nurseries of the most wretched description, in which little attempt at religious instruction is made (though sometimes the Catechisms of different creeds are found in the same Schools), and which are best described by their usual name of ‘out-of-the-way Schools,’ from the children being sent to them chiefly to be out of the way of their parents or of harm.

‘5th. That 6412, or more than *two-thirds* of the children receiving any instruction, *receive only public instruction*, which is already, therefore, a permanent institution, though on the voluntary system.

‘6th. That of this public instruction, nearly two-thirds is, at the present moment, *in the hands of Dissenters*, with some few *Roman Catholics*, under whose management 4123 of these children are receiving all the schooling which they obtain; leaving only 2289 under the management of the *Church*.

‘7th. That of the children receiving public instruction, 4150, or nearly *two-thirds*, are under only *Sunday School* teaching, which is chiefly religious, and, as a means of secular instruction, almost beneath notice; and of the total number of children receiving *only* this Sunday schooling, 3415, or nearly *seven-eighths*, are in the Schools of Dis-

senters ; the predominance being yet greater in the country districts than in the city.

‘8th. That 1510 children, or nearly *one-fourth* of those receiving public instruction, attend *unendowed* Day Schools, of the character of National Schools generally, with some few Infant Schools, in which the number of children attending those under the management of Dissenters, is, in the city of Coventry, approaching *two to one* of those attending the Church Schools ; while in the Rural Districts, the poverty and dispersion of the Dissenting population, leave the *daily* instruction almost wholly to the Church Schools ; and the *total* of children receiving instruction in public Day Schools, supported by voluntary subscriptions in the city and rural parishes jointly, is therefore divided between the Church Schools and the Dissenting Schools, in nearly the reverse proportion that is observed in the city.

‘9th. That the *whole* of the remaining 752 children receiving public daily instruction, are in Schools more or less well *endowed*, of a character in few instances superior to National Schools, and nearly all under the management of Churchmen ; and it is by the addition of these alone that the Church acquires a decided preponderance of 846, even in regard to the number of *day* scholars, to meet the overwhelming balance of nearly 3000 in the exclusively Sunday teaching.

‘11th. That secular instruction, at all worthy of the name, being attempted only in the public Day Schools, and the few common Day Schools of superior character, the proportion of children under instruction to the population is rather 1 in 20 than 1 in 6, as the mere enumeration of the scholars of every class would indicate,—an enumeration assuredly in excess, through the prevalent desire of teachers to represent their Schools in the best light.

‘12th. That much has been done by these several classes of Schools towards redeeming the labouring population of this district from a state approaching to absolute barbarism,

cannot be doubted ; any more than that somewhat of this **h**as been pursued in a spirit of rivalry, where much more **m**ight have been accomplished by united efforts.

‘ And 13th. That there is still a want of any sufficient **i**nfluence by which the rising generation of this district can **b**e preserved from pursuing the like courses, and abiding **i**n the same rudeness and misery which has been the usual **l**ot of their predecessors.

‘ JOSEPH FLETCHER.

‘ 3 Trafalgar Square, Westminster,
‘ July 1, 1830.’

In the purely rural districts the Dissenters are not numerous. The inhabitants of agricultural parishes consist for the most part of the proprietors, the clergy, the farmers, and the labourers. Dissent has spread chiefly among the middle classes ; but exceedingly less among the farmers than the inhabitants of towns. The gentry and clergy have little encouragement or assistance from the farmers in the erection or improvement of Schools. The common argument employed by the farmer is, that he had little or no instruction himself, and that he does not see why his labourers' children should be as well instructed as his own. No general sympathy in the improvement of the education of agricultural labourers can be expected, until proprietary Schools for the children of farmers have been established ; and we hope that every intelligent landowner, and especially our aristocracy, will recognise the importance of thus providing such an education for farmers' children as shall enable the next generation to keep exact accounts of the income and outlay of their farms—to comprehend the mechanical improvements recently introduced into husbandry—to read with profit the treatises in which agriculture is treated as a science—to understand as much of general science as may enable them with less empiricism, and therefore with a greater chance of success, to conduct their trials of manures and composts on their different soils, and to avoid a waste of capital on experiments in draining,

irrigation, &c., which are now often conducted contrary to ascertained principles. A taste for reading itself would assist the diffusion of a knowledge of improvements in agriculture, and would thus increase the intelligence and enterprise of a class of men who contribute so largely to the national wealth.

The clergyman might then rejoice to find his exertions for the erection and support of Schools for the children of labourers in the agricultural districts more cordially and steadily seconded by the farmers than they now are. He would also be able to reclaim from misappropriation educational endowments, on which parochial authorities have for a long time laid their hands ; and among the labourers themselves would arise a stronger sense of the value of education to their children. At the present we fear we have for the most part to record, respecting the rural districts, a melancholy void in the means of instruction for the poorer classes. The exceptions to this rule are attributable almost solely to the interference of the proprietors of the soil, or of the clergy, to whose exertions we must owe any further advance which can at present be made.

But in the towns the influence of the middle class is, from their numbers and intelligence, predominant ; and, consequently, that of the Dissenters is great. No Government could long exist in this country which should either neglect the legal right which the Established Church has to expect the protection and support of the Executive Government, or which, on the other hand, should refuse to admit that a large body of Her Majesty's subjects who dissent from the Established Church have a legal right to an equal distribution of all the secular advantages derivable from a Government supported by the public funds.

But when to the rights recognised by the law the Dissenters have superadded the claim arising out of the exertions they have spontaneously made to provide for education in some of the most important districts of this country, we are at a loss to know, on what pretence they can be excluded from sharing the secular benefits of any

provision for National Education furnished at the public cost, or how the Government could have been justified, either in formally excluding them from the privilege of educating their teachers in the Normal School, or (which is equivalent to that) in imposing such religious observances on those teachers, or so inadequately providing for their entire religious freedom, as practically to have occasioned their exclusion.

Nothing would tend so much to increase the political power of religious denominations not agreeing with the Established Church, as to attempt a partial or exclusive distribution of any new civil advantages, after admitting them to a theoretical equality of civil rights. We believe it to be impossible to place on the statute book any such law ; but once there, the clamour raised would be so loud and fierce, that any Administration must quail before it, and if Parliament did not listen to the indignant remonstrances of the constituency, this would become the sole topic of electioneering agitation until the new enactment was repealed.

Conceiving the application of the public funds to the exclusive secular advantage of any class of religionists impossible, we are of opinion that two courses only were open to the Committee of Privy Council in proposing the plan of a Normal School—

1. To establish separate Normal Schools for different classes of religionists.

2. To establish a Normal School open to all.

One principle our laws require should be preserved inviolate under all circumstances, viz., that the Established Church should suffer no detriment, but should hold her position among the religious denominations of this country, as the Church, whose head is the Sovereign, and whose institutions are interwoven with those of the temporal power.

If, then, separate Normal Schools were established for different classes of religionists, let us examine in what way an impartial distribution of the secular advantages of such

institutions could have been secured. A Normal School being established for the Church, would it be necessary to establish a separate Normal School for each one of the numerous sects, or do those sects admit of some classification into groups, for each of which a Normal School might be provided? Clearly the latter is the only practicable plan, and the British and Foreign School Society is founded on a principle which provides Schools for the children, and a certain amount of training for the teachers, of the Orthodox Congregational Dissenters and of the Society of Friends. The plan of separate Schools for each sect is thus impracticable, and that of a common School for the Orthodox Congregational Dissenters is in practical operation. We may infer, from these premisses, that the necessity of distributing impartially the secular advantages of such institutions under the plan of separate Normal Schools for separate classes of religionists would have required at least the following schools:—1. A Normal School for the Church.—2. A Normal School for the Wesleyan Methodists.—3. A Normal School for the Orthodox Congregational Dissenters, and for the Society of Friends.—4. A Normal School for the Roman Catholics. And it would have been necessary to make provision for any other classes by admitting them to the secular benefits of one or other of the above Schools without imposing any religious observances.

We are content to state, without comment, the scheme which appears to us to afford the only ultimately practicable alternative to the plan proposed by the Government. We do not hesitate to say, the concern of the Committee of Council to preserve the interests of the Church, while they exercised the authority confided to them by the temporal Head of the Church for the promotion of National Education, so as to protect the rights of conscience, could alone have induced the Committee to prefer the plan which they announced in their Minute of the 11th of April.

We have sufficiently vindicated that plan from the

charge of a tendency to promote latitudinarianism by our **previous** remarks—we have now shown what is evidently **the only practicable alternative** to the adoption of that **plan**.

One feature of the recent debates is a source of no little **regret** to the friends of education. The fact of the want of means of instruction for the people was admitted; but little or nothing transpired indicating that the extent of the void was known.—Had the fearful breadth of this chasm in our National Institutions been perceived, we cannot believe that so much time would have been expended in exaggerating every difficulty obstructing the extension of education to the entire people, whether those difficulties be referable to the religious divisions which unhappily separate the middle classes into hostile camps, or whether they originated in the opposition of any of the existing voluntary associations for primary education. Assuredly the privileges of the Established Church, and also the rights of conscience, must be respected, and the religious education of the people is of paramount importance. Neither are we inclined to disparage the value of any of the existing voluntary associations; but it is of infinitely greater importance that the feuds of sects and the interests of bodies incompetent effectually to deal with this national question, should not rob the people of England of the heritage which the Government, after periods of ruinous deprivation, was about to restore to them. The grievance would not be greater if the administration of justice was impeded, or rendered partial, by any attempt to extend spiritual jurisdiction from the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Civil, or to renew the interdicts upon the enjoyment of the civil advantages of society in consequence of some slight to the representative of the Church, or some interference with his spiritual power. But if the whole of this kingdom were placed under an ecclesiastical interdict; if marriages could no longer be solemnised; if the dead were left unburied; and the Churches closed, terrible

though the calamity would be, we find a parallel to it in that wide-spread and demoralising ignorance which paralyses all the healthful influences of society, if it does not convert its elements into engines of mutual destruction.

APPENDIX

TABLE No. I.

District.	Estimated population at period of inquiry.	Children from 3 to 13 estimated, without deducting any from number living between 5 and 15, according to population returns.	Number attending superior private schools, and belonging to middle and upper classes.	Number of children of working classes from 3 to 13, for whom education should be provided, one-third being deducted from the whole number between 3 and 13 for those privately educated, or employed, or sick, or prevented by casualties from attending school, and also deducting the number attending superior private schools.	Number of children of working classes attending endowed and charity schools, and schools attached to public institutions, and infant schools.	Number attending dame schools, and common day schools.	Very ill Educated.	Uneducated in day schools.	Total uneducated, and very ill educated.
Manchester	200,000	50,000	2934	30,400	4103	11,624			26,265
Salford	55,000	13,750	882	8285	1776	3357			6509
Liverpool	230,000	57,500	4080	34,354	13,500	11,336			20,754
Bury	20,000	5000	174	3160	652	1648			2508
York	28,000	7000	716	3951	1296	1294			2025
	533,000	133,250	8786	80,050	21,957	29,259			58,061
Ratio to children of in attendance on working school		Ratio to classes	to who	population ought to be	1 in 24 1 in 34	.	.	.	1 to 9 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 8
Westminster (in 3 divisions).									
St. Martin in Fields,									
St. Clement Danes,									
St. Ma., Strand,									
St. Paul's Co. Garden,									
The Savoy, St.	50,000	10,000	1017	5650	1861	1124		2665	3789
John & St. Margaret,	54,000	10,800	690	6510	2718	1675		2117	3792
St. George, St. James,	111,000	22,000	2429	12,371	3382	1944		7045	8989
and St. Anne, Soho.									
	215,000	43,000	4136	24,531	7961	4743		11,827	16,570

Ratio to population	1 in 27	1 to 13
Ratio to children of working classes who ought to be in attendance on school	1 in 3	2 to 3

See Reports as to average expense of education in Schools, London and Manchester Statistical Societies.

The table contains the following results for

	Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, York.	Westminster, 3 Divisions.
Estimated population at period of inquiry	533,000	215,000
Estimated number of children between 3 and 13	133,250	43,000
Number of children of working classes from 3 to 13, for whom education should be provided	80,050	24,531
Number of children of working classes who attend endowed and charity schools, and schools attached to public institutions and infant schools	21,957	7961
Number very ill educated in dame and common day schools	29,259	4743
Number uneducated in week day schools*	28,823	11,827

* Of these several receive some instruction (chiefly religious) in Sunday Schools. See Table No. IV.

Summary of the proficiency of the Prisoners in Norwich Castle, in Reading, &c. at the time of their commitment, taken at different periods from 1826 to 1835.

		Could not read at all.	Merely knew the Alpha-bet.	Could read only so imperfectly as to be of no utility to them.	Could read in the Testament, but could not write.	Could both read and write.	Total of those who could read, and of those who could read and write.	Total uneducated.	TOTAL.
1826	Feb. 7	153	24	40	45	89	134	217	351
	Mar. 8	173	28	49	51	99	150	259	400
	June 6	223	32	60	56	129	185	315	500
	Oct. 24	264	40	68	68	160	228	372	600
	Dec. 27	311	43	85	81	180	261	439	700
1827	Mar. 15	350	52	105	91	202	293	507	800
	June 13	393	57	119	109	222	331	569	900
	Oct. 16	430	60	128	124	258	382	618	1000
1828	Feb. 5	475	66	141	137	281	418	682	1100
	April 28	515	67	153	153	312	465	735	1200
	Sept. 1	554	72	167	169	334	507	793	1300
	Nov. 29	604	77	177	181	361	542	858	1400
1829	Feb. 4	641	81	187	197	394	591	909	1500
	April 4	678	88	205	207	422	629	971	1600
	July 13	718	94	215	221	452	673	1027	1700
	Oct. 21	750	99	228	237	486	723	1077	1800
1830	Jan. 21	793	100	242	253	512	765	1105	1900
	Mar. 29	822	105	262	273	538	811	1189	2000
	July 28	848	109	286	291	566	857	1243	2100
	Nov. 15	875	111	306	310	598	908	1292	2200
	Dec. 24	916	117	324	320	623	943	1357	2300
1831	Feb. 10	955	120	339	339	647	986	1414	2400
	May 4	989	123	351	357	680	1037	1463	2500
	Sept. 3	1019	127	366	378	710	1088	1512	2600
	Dec. 7	1052	129	381	395	743	1138	1562	2700
1832	Jan. 31	1084	133	398	415	770	1185	1615	2800
	April 9	1113	140	417	433	797	1230	1670	2900
	June 25	1146	147	428	445	834	1279	1721	3000
	Oct. 15	1175	152	449	461	863	1324	1776	3100
1833	Jan. 5	1204	157	459	479	901	1380	1820	3200
	Mar. 19	1238	166	470	494	932	1426	1874	3300
	June 18	1268	173	483	511	965	1476	1924	3400
	Sept. 27	1296	177	493	533	1001	1534	1966	3500
	Nov. 28	1330	186	499	555	1030	1585	2015	3600
1834	Jan. 16	1364	194	508	577	1057	1634	2066	3700
	Mar. 22	1397	204	521	599	1079	1678	2122	3800
	June 24	1428	211	534	617	1110	1727	2173	3900
	Oct. 23	1463	219	540	635	1143	1778	2222	4000
1835	Feb. 10	1499	222	547	651	1181	1832	2268	4100
	April 7	1542	231	554	675	1198	1873	2327	4200
	July 16	1581	237	561	693	1228	1921	2379	4300
	Nov. 4	1611	249	571	715	1254	1969	2431	4400

N.B. All recommitments are omitted, and also those prisoners who may have been committed for too short a time to come under the Chaplain's regular and continued instruction.

	Church Establishment.	Wesleyan.	American Methodist.	Episcopal.	in every an Association.	American Methodist.	New Connection.	Catholic.	Unitarian.	Primitive Methodist.	Christian.	Woman Assoc. president.	in every Booth.	in any Religious Body.
	Average Attendance.													
	Total Number of Scholars on the Books.													
	Number of Schools.													
Manchester	7954	18 9066	6556	1059 3864	1187 1136	1 213 131	5 1453 1115	9 394 3156	1 263 183	3 401 380	2 401 313	3 779 500	1 1007 977	...
Salford	9 2741 1900	5 2630 1766	1187 1136	1 213 131	5 1453 1115	9 394 3156	1 263 183	3 401 380	2 401 313	3 779 500	1 1007 977	1 176 108	3 176 108	...
Liverpool	27 6318 4902	11 2271 1839	11 2061 1747	6 800 662	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bury	5 1335 1188	2 892 780	920 810	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
York	15 1706 1263	4 941 577	498 281	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	81 22,866 17,207	1013,900 11,340 37	520 1657 11	356 1657 11	71103 796 11	11 2922 3112	14 5318 1223	6 1219 883	6 1303 778	3 409 308	4 948 665	15 1676 1264	1 116 86	...

• Included with Wesleyans.

	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars on Books.	Average Attendance.
Church Establishment	78	50,064	14,749
Dissenters	121	27,281	27,446
Catholics	14	3246	4399
Unconnected with any Religious Body .	4	672	813
Total	216	66,063	69,003

Similar information respecting the City of Westminster, founded on Reports of the London Statistical Society

	Church Establishment.		Wesleyan.		Independent.		Presbyterian.		Baptist.		Lady Maitland's Connection.		Dissenters not defined.					
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Clement Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and the Savoy	6	683	370	...	2	422	393	1	80	80	...	1	370	250	...	...	...
St. John and St. Margaret . . .	4	751	579	1	330	220	6	842	439	...	1	140	105	...	1	65	30	
St. George, St. James, and St. Anne, Soho . .	5	681	568	2	196	115	8	1287	882	2	285	170	1	135	110	...	...
Total . .		2115	1517	3	526	335	16	2551	1714	3	365	250	2	275	215	1	65	30

	Number of Schools.		Number of Scholars on Books.		Average Attendance.	
Church Establishment . .	14		2115		1517	
Dissenters	26		4153		2794	
Total . .	40		6267		4311	

	Church Establishment.	Wesleyan.	Independent.	Wesleyan Association.	Baptist.	Calvinistic Methodist.	Methodist New Connection.	Catholic.	Unitarian.	Primitive Methodist.	Bible Christian.	Welsh Independent.	Of other Sects.	Unconnected with any Religious Body.
	Average Attendance.													Average Attendance.
	Total Number of Scholars on the Books.													Total Number of Scholars on the Books.
	Number of Schools.													Number of Schools.
Manchester	7534	19,906	1059	1059	1533	103	1115	9389	183	240	315	500	1087	180
Salford	1900	5200	1187	1138	131	103	329	538	123	318	83	176	170	180
Liverpool	4902	11227	1261	1747	680	652	3404	2704	292	160	100	176	333	180
Bury	1188	2892	900	910	100	100	412	400	133	40	100	100	116	100
York	1953	4911	496	381	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	22,867	17,307	10,500	11,440	11,366	1667	11,292	3112	14,334	1278	3409	4945	15,676	180

o Included with Wesleyans.

	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars on the Books.	Average Attendance.
Church Establishment	78	28,094	14,759
Dissenters	128	27,281	27,446
Catholics	16	5048	4236
Unconnected with any Religious Body	4	673	813
Total	226	68,096	49,054

Similar information respecting the City of Westminster, founded on Reports of the

	Church Establishment.	Wesleyan.	Independent.	Presbyterian.	Baptist.	Lady Hymington's Consecration.	Dissenters not defined.	
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Clement Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and the Savoy	6 683 370 ...	... ...	2 422 393	1 80 80	... ...	1 370 250	... ...
St. John and St. Margaret	4 731 579 1 330 220	6 842 479	... ...	1 140 105	... ...	... ...	1 65 30	
St. George, St. James, and St. Anne, Soho . .	5 631 568 2 196 115	8 1287 882	2 285 170	1 135 110	... ...	... ...	... ...
Total . .	2115 1517 3 626 335	16 2551 1714 3 365 250	2 275 215	1 65 30				

	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars on Books.	Average Attendance.
Church Establishment .	14	2115	1517
Dissenters	26	4152	2794
Total . . .	40	6267	4311

FIRST STEPS AS TO PUPIL TEACHERS

4. First steps in Workhouses and Schools of Industry for pauper children, in the apprenticeship of Pupil Teachers. A few brief extracts from Reports (1837 to 1840).

THE first step which my memory recalls in the employment of Pupil Teachers occurred in a Norfolk Workhouse, in the case of a boy who became a Pupil Teacher there, and entered a Training College, and after some years' education became the master of a school. Having succeeded the late Sir Edward Parry in the administration of the Poor Law Amendment Act in Norfolk, the organisation of the workhouse schools for pauper children occupied my attention. I procured teachers from Mr. Wood's Edinburgh Sessional School, and from Mr. David Stow's schools in Glasgow, now the Free Church Training College. An organising Master from Mr. Wood's school (Mr. Horne, afterwards a master in Battersea Training College), successively resided in several workhouses of the Eastern Counties for a month or two. He reconstructed the school in each workhouse. Wherever the schoolmaster was capable, he placed him—with improved knowledge of method, a better organised and disciplined school, new desks, books, and apparatus—in charge of the training of the children, in humble learning, religion, and industry. If quite incapable, the teacher was removed, and another appointed. In the Gressenhall Workhouse of the Mitford and Launditch Union, Mr. Horne found an intelligent, active schoolmaster, who entered eagerly into all our plans. The garden, the school, and the workshops, when once organised, flourished

under his care. Some of his scholars caught his spirit. Among these was a lad named William Rush, who rapidly rose to the head of the little school. The master fell seriously ill; William Rush, unbidden, though a boy of only thirteen years of age, took charge of the scholars. The master of the Workhouse found the school in its usual order. The whole discipline and routine of the garden, workshop, and class instruction went on unbroken. The Guardians were summoned to witness the phenomenon. Their Chairman—my late lamented friend, Mr. Fredk. Walpole Keppel of Lexham—entered at once into the merits of the case, and authorised the boy to continue his work in the school. I visited the workhouse, and at my suggestion William Rush was thenceforth regarded as the apprenticed assistant of the schoolmaster, who soon recovered, but afterwards employed Rush as his Assistant Teacher. This incident afforded a valuable hint, of which I availed myself in organising other workhouse schools. Generally we sought out the most promising boys, with a view to retain their services for a series of years as Assistant Teachers. Rush was afterwards sent to Norwood, and thence removed to Battersea Training School.

On taking charge of the Metropolitan District, I was early impressed with a conviction of the necessity of organising the establishments in which the pauper children, sent to be reared in the country under 'Jonas Hanway's Act,' had been grouped together from the houses of the dames, or others to whom they had been originally confided. I found in Mr. Aubin, at Norwood, an intelligent, honest, and active contractor—ready to adopt all reasonable improvements. He was, with equal good sense and kindness of disposition, desirous to be faithful to his young charge. The Guardians of the City of London Union first adopted my suggestions for the reorganisation of Mr. Aubin's Children's Establishment at Norwood. Aided by a grant of £500 per annum, which Earl Russell—then Secretary of State for the Home

Department—made, this pauper childrens' asylum became the Norwood District School of Industry. It has since been transferred to Hanwell, where, under the faithful superintendence of Mr. Edward Carleton Tufnell, it is now the Central London District School for Pauper Children.

In Mr. Aubin's School of Industry at Norwood, and afterwards at Limehouse, Edmonton, and elsewhere, the system of Pupil Teachers was rapidly introduced. They were not all apprenticed, but by the consent of their guardians all were to be retained in the School for a series of years. William Rush and others were sent up from rural workhouses at the expense of their patrons¹, in order that they might have the advantage of the systematic instruction and training then provided at Norwood, and conducted by masters much more skilful than any in charge of the rural workhouse Schools.

While the earliest of these arrangements were in successful operation, I visited Holland, and found that in many of their features these plans resembled those adopted in the Dutch Schools. This confirmed my conviction of their value, and I was careful to justify them² by a reference to the experience of Holland in the Report on the Training of Pauper Children, and on District Schools, written in 1838. Again in a Report on the Norwood School of Industry, dated 1st May, 1839, occur the following passages. (*Ibid*, pp. 106-7-8.)

'For each class monitors have been selected, who are chiefly employed in superintending the mechanical daily routine; that is, in assisting the teacher in assembling the class in order, in procuring and preserving silence and attention, in distributing the books, slates, pens, &c., in superintending lessons in which moral training forms no element, such as writing and ciphering. From these monitors have already been selected those most distin-

¹ William Rush at the expense of Mr. F. W. Keppel.

² Report to Secretary of State for Home Department from the Poor Law Commissioners on the Training of Pauper Children, p. 46.

guished by zeal, skill, attainments, and gentleness of disposition, who are to be apprenticed, and reared as teachers. The organisation of each class will not be complete until it has at least one monitor and a pupil teacher; and when the pupil teachers have acquired considerable skill, and the arrangements for the instruction of the monitors are complete, it is believed that 100 children may with such assistance be instructed by one master alternately, in two classes of 50, and in the gallery. Such an arrangement, however, supposes that one of these classes shall be employed in writing, ciphering, composition, or drawing, while the other is receiving instruction from the master in reading, geography, and other matters of general knowledge. The monitors and pupil teachers sleep in a room apart from the rest of the children; they have also recreation in a separate garden, and in the evening receive instruction in a room situated there, where they also read and prepare the lessons for their classes on the succeeding day.

‘The pupil teachers are distinguished by a uniform dress, and wear upon their arms the number of the class to which they are at the time attached.

‘Some children of schoolmasters, and some of the most intelligent boys in workhouse Schools, have been sent to Norwood either by private individuals or by Boards of Guardians; and have, in consequence of strong testimonials of character, attainments, and fondness for the duties of a teacher, been admitted into the class of pupil teachers. In such cases it is required that each child shall be furnished with the uniform of the pupil teachers at the expense of his patrons; and that 5s. per week shall be paid for his board and lodging; and it is now necessary to require that they shall be apprenticed for a term of five years, after a certain period of probation, so as to secure their being so reared as to enable them rightly to discharge the duties of a teacher.

‘The indenture of apprenticeship stipulates that the moral conduct and character of the pupil shall continue

to be such as to afford the superintendent teacher a confident expectation of his success. Each child will undergo a formal half-yearly examination, at each of which successive periods he will be required to prove his qualification to complete his apprenticeship by his attainments in the several branches of instruction and School discipline. The subjects of examination will be so graduated as to test his proficiency and talent, rising in each successive half-year towards the examination required from candidate teachers, after a certain residence in the School.

‘Each class contains 50 children, and is furnished with at least one pupil teacher and a monitor. Two classes of 50 children each have, besides their pupil teachers and monitors, one teacher and one candidate teacher attached to them; the teacher instructs each class alternately, or both classes together in the gallery; the candidate teacher listens to the instruction given in the gallery; or, when he has attained sufficient proficiency, occasionally assists the teacher in giving these lessons. The candidate teacher also instructs one of the classes at the desks alternately with the teacher, so that they are both always receiving instruction either from the teacher or candidate teacher. Candidate teachers are not intrusted with the instruction of the children until they have been some time in the School; and they are then first attached to those classes which require the smallest amount of skill, and the most slender attainments, and afterwards to those where greater proficiency is requisite. The means for instructing the candidate teachers at Norwood will require to be enlarged and improved, as soon as it is apparent that the demand for teachers trained in this School renders such measures expedient.’

In a subsequent Report, dated December 1st, 1840¹, occurs the following passage :—

¹ See Poor Law Commissioners Report to Secretary of State for the Home Department, pp. 129, 130.

‘ Mr. Aubin has, under your directions, taken the first steps towards the apprenticeship of some of the best conducted and most advanced boys as pupil teachers. If he be enabled, by the Boards of Guardians, to carry into execution this plan of retaining by apprenticeship some of the most promising children in the School, rearing them in the constant practice of the duties of teachers, and preparing them, by separate instruction every evening, for that vocation, he will be enabled gradually to establish his School on the sure basis of the “*mixed method of instruction*”—the characteristics of which it has hitherto only partially and imperfectly attained.

‘ Mr. Aubin’s first attention should therefore be steadily directed, to rearing up within the School a body of well-instructed pupil teachers to assist the teachers in the general duties of the School. This, however, he has hitherto failed to accomplish ; but I trust that arrangements which have recently been made will insure the attainment of this advantage.

‘ The introduction of greater precision in the methods of instruction, and the assimilation of those methods to the most approved forms, will necessarily depend on the degree of skill which the pupil teachers attain, and on the amount of assistance which they are enabled to afford the teachers.

‘ All progress in the introduction of correct methods must necessarily be slow, and subject to frequent embarrassments under existing circumstances.’

These extracts may suffice to mark the gradual development of the Pupil-Teacher system. In the month of January, 1840, some of these Pupil Teachers were removed from Norwood to the Training School (since called College) at Battersea, where their further progress will be found to be described in the Report on that School.

TWO REPORTS

DESCRIBING

THE ORIGIN OF THE TRAINING COLLEGE AT BATTERSEA,—THE
INTRODUCTION OF SOME OF THE PUPIL TEACHERS AS STUDENTS,
—AND ITS ORGANISATION AND PROGRESS.



PREFACE.

The two following Reports on the Battersea Training School record the history of the joint enterprise in which my friend, Mr. Edward Carleton Tufnell, and I were engaged for some years, without, so far as I can call to mind, any material difference of views as to principles, or in the management of the School.

But I have no right to hold Mr. Tufnell responsible for the style or colouring of these two Reports. As I was resident in charge of the School, it was natural that these Reports should be drawn by me. With the exception of the translation of the tabular account of the courses of instruction given in the Swiss Normal Schools, Mr. Tufnell is not responsible for more than a general, though, I am sure, a cordial, approval.

FIRST REPORT ON THE TRAINING SCHOOL AT BATTERSEA

TO THE POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS.

January 1, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,

THE efforts made by your Assistant Commissioners for the improvement of the training of pauper children in the rural and metropolitan districts, made apparent, at a very early period, the great difficulty of procuring the assistance of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses acquainted with the principles on which the education of this class of children ought to be conducted.

Very little inquiry confirmed what was previously suspected, that the number of English schoolmasters acquainted with the organisation and discipline of elementary schools, and skilful in the application of approved methods of instruction, is exceedingly small, and by no means on the increase. Successive applications were made to those sources from which teachers are usually obtained in England, but these applications were almost invariably unsuccessful, for a variety of reasons.

The teachers trained in the Model Schools of the metropolitan and other societies enter those schools with the expectation of taking charge of rural or town day schools. They are not instructed in the management of schools of industry. They are not trained in that regulation of the habits of children at meals, in their dormitories, and during hours of recreation, which is essential to the success of a school of industry for pauper children. Moreover, the period during which they receive instruc-

tion and are trained in the art of teaching in these Model Schools is unfortunately very short. Such Schools possess slender funds applicable to the maintenance of the candidate teachers. The candidates, therefore, are maintained by their own meagre resources or are dependent on their friends, in the hope of being able, at the expiration of a short period, to take charge of a School; or they are maintained by the patrons or committee of some School, the mastership of which they are to assume, and which is probably in course of erection. Their attendance on the Model School seldom exceeds six months, and often does not extend beyond three. But little reflection is necessary to prove, that in six months they cannot acquire all the knowledge which is desirable, either of the principles, the matter, or the art of elementary instruction.

These Model Schools will ere long be re-organised, with more abundant resources for the training of the candidate teachers, and doubtless the teachers then trained in them will go forth much better prepared for the discharge of their duties than at present.

The introduction of works of industry, however, forms no part of the plan of the improved arrangements hitherto announced, and they afford no means of preparing teachers to learn that system of moral management which is essential to the success of Schools for pauper children.

The training of pauper children in a workhouse or district School cannot be successful unless the teacher be moved by Christian charity to the work of rearing in religion and industry the outcast and orphan children of our rural and city population. The difficulty of redeeming by education the mischief wrought in generations of a vicious parentage can be estimated only by those who know how degenerate these children are.

The pauper children assembled at Norwood, from the garrets, cellars, and wretched rooms of alleys and courts, in the dense parts of London, are often sent thither in a low state of destitution, covered only with rags and vermin; often the victims of chronic disease; almost univer-

sally stunted in their growth ; and sometimes emaciated with want. The low-browed and inexpressive physiognomy or malign aspect of the boys is a true index to the mental darkness, the stubborn tempers, the hopeless spirits, and the vicious habits, on which the master has to work. He needs no small support from Christian faith and charity for the successful prosecution of such a labour ; and no quality can compensate for the want of that spirit of self-sacrifice and tender concern for the well-being of these children, without which their instruction would be anything but a labour of love. A baker or a shoemaker, or a shop apprentice, or commercial clerk, cannot be expected to be imbued with this spirit during a residence of six months in the neighbourhood of a Model School if he has not imbibed it previously at its source.

The men who undertake this work should not set about it in the spirit of hirelings, taking the speediest means to procure a maintenance with the least amount of trouble. A commercial country will always offer irresistible temptations to desert such a profession, to those to whom the annual stipend is the chief, if not sole, motive to exertion. The outcast must remain neglected, if there be no principle, which, even in the midst of a commercial people, will enable men to devote themselves to this vocation from higher motives than the mere love of money.

Experience of the motives by which the class of schoolmasters now plying their trade in this country are commonly actuated, is a graver source of want of confidence in their ability to engage in this labour than the absence of skill in their profession. A great number of them undertake these duties either because they are incapacitated by age or infirmity for any other, or because they have failed in all other attempts to procure a livelihood ; or because, in the absence of well-qualified competitors, the least amount of exertion and talent enables the most indolent schoolmasters to present average claims on public confidence and support. Rare indeed are the examples in which skill and principle are combined in the agents

employed in this most important sphere of national self-government. Other men will not enable you to restore the children of vagabonds and criminals to society, purged of the taint of their parents' vices, and prepared to perform their duties as useful citizens in a humble sphere.

The peculiarities of the character and condition of the pauper children demand the use of appropriate means for their improvement. The general principles on which the education of children of all classes should be conducted are doubtless fundamentally the same ; but for each class specific modifications are requisite, not only in the methods but in the matter of instruction.

The discipline, management, and methods of instruction in elementary schools for the poor, differ widely from those which ought to characterise Schools for the middle or upper classes of society. The instruction of the blind, of the deaf and dumb, of criminals, of paupers, and of children in towns and in rural districts, renders necessary the use of a variety of distinct methods in order to attain the desired end.

The peculiarity of the pauper child's condition is, that his parents, either from misfortune, or indolence, or vice, have sunk into destitution. In many instances children descend from generations of paupers. They have been born in the worst purlieus of a great city, or in the most wretched hovels on the parish waste. They have suffered privation of every kind. Perhaps they have wandered about the country in beggary, or have been taught the arts of petty thieving in the towns. They have lived with brutal and cruel men and women, and have suffered from their caprice and mismanagement. They have seen much of vice and wretchedness, and have known neither comfort, kindness, nor virtue.

If they are sent very young to the workhouse, their entire training in religious knowledge, and in all the habits of life, devolves on the schoolmaster. If they come under his care at a later period, his task is difficult in proportion to the vicious propensities he has to encounter.

The children to whose improvement Pestalozzi devoted his life were of a similar class,—equally ignorant, and perhaps equally demoralised, in consequence of the internal discords attendant on the revolutionary wars, which at the period when his labours commenced had left Switzerland in ruin.

The class of children which De Fellenberg placed under the charge of Vehrli at Hofwyl were in like manner picked up on the roads of the canton—they were the outcasts of Berne.

These circumstances are among the motives which led us to a careful examination of the Schools of Industry and Normal Schools of the cantons of Switzerland. These schools are more or less under the influence of the lessons which Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg have taught the country. They differ in some important particulars from those which exist in England, and the experience of Switzerland in this peculiar department of elementary instruction appears pre-eminently worthy of attention.

Those Orphan and Normal Schools of Switzerland which have paid the deference due to the lessons of Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg, are remarkable for the gentleness and simplicity of the intercourse between the scholar and his master. The formation of character is always kept in mind as the great aim of education. The intelligence is enlightened, in order that it may inform the conscience, and that the conscience, looking forth through this intelligence, may behold a wider sphere of duty, and have its command a greater capacity for action. The capacity for action is determined by the cultivation of habits appropriate to the duties of the station which the child must occupy.

Among the labouring class no habit is more essential to virtuous conduct than that of steady and persevering labour. Manual skill connects the intelligence with the brute force with which we are endued. The instruction in elementary Schools should be so conducted, as not to assist the labourer in acquiring mechanical dexterity.

in bringing his intelligence to aid the labours of his hands, whether by a knowledge of the principles of form or numbers, or of the properties of natural objects, and the nature of the phenomena by which his labours are likely to be affected. In a commercial country it is pre-eminently important to give him such an acquaintance with geography as may stimulate enterprise at home, or may tend to swell the stream of colonisation which is daily extending the dominion of British commerce and civilisation. Labour, which brings the sweat upon the brows, requires relaxation, and the child should therefore learn to repose from toil among innocent enjoyments, and to avoid those vicious indulgences which waste the labourer's strength, rob his house of comfort, and must sooner or later be the source of sorrow. There is a dignity in the lot of man in every sphere, if it be not cast away. The honour and the joy of successful toil should fill the labourer's songs in his hour of repose. From religion man learns that all the artificial distinctions of society are as nothing before that God who searcheth the heart. Religion therefore raises the labourer to the highest dignity of human existence, the knowledge of the will and the enjoyment of the favour of God. Instructed by religion, the labourer knows how in daily toil he fulfils the duties and satisfies the moral and natural necessities of his existence, while the outward garb of mortality is gradually wearing off, and the spirit preparing for emancipation.

An education guided by the principles described in this brief sketch, appears to us appropriate to the preparation of the outcast and orphan children for the great work of a Christian's life.

After a trial of various expedients, to which allusion has been made in preceding Reports, it became apparent that the means of embracing within one comprehensive plan the training of the 50,000 pauper children now in the workhouses did not exist in this country; and the importance of not abandoning these children to the consequences of the misfortunes and vices of their parents grew

in proportion to the difficulties with which the subject was encumbered.

That which seemed most important was the preparation of a class of teachers who would cheerfully devote themselves, and with anxious and tender solicitude, to rear these children, abandoned by all natural sympathies, as a wise and affectionate parent would prepare them for the duties of life.

To so grave a task as an attempt to devise the means of training these teachers, it was necessary to bring a patient and humble spirit, in order that the results of experience in this department might be examined, and that none that were useful might be hastily thrown aside. Our examination of the continental Schools was undertaken with this view. A visit was made to Holland at two successive periods, on the last of which we took one of Dr. Kay's most experienced schoolmasters with us, in order that he might improve himself by an examination of the methods of instruction in the Dutch Schools, all the most remarkable of which were minutely inspected. A visit has been paid to Prussia and Saxony, in which several of the chief Schools have been examined with a similar design. Two visits were paid to Paris, in which the Normal School at Versailles, the Maison Mère and the Noviciate of the Brothers of the Order of the Christian Doctrine, and a great number of the elementary Schools of Paris and the vicinity, were examined. The Normal School at Dijon was especially recommended to our attention by M. Cousin and M. Villemain, and we spent a day in that School. Our attention was directed with peculiar interest to the Schools of Switzerland, in the examination of which we spent several weeks uninterruptedly. During this period we daily inspected one or more Schools, and conversed with the authorities of the several cantons, with the directors of the Normal Schools, and with individuals distinguished by their knowledge of the science of elementary instruction. The occasional leave of absence from our home duties which you have kindly granted us

in the last three years respectively was mainly solicited with the view, and devoted to the purpose, of examining the method of instruction adopted in the Schools for the poorer classes on the continent.

This Report is not intended to convey to you the results of our inquiries. It may suffice to describe the chief places visited, and the objects to which our attention was directed, in order that you may know the sources whence we have derived the information by which our subsequent labours have been guided. We entered Switzerland by the Jura, descending at Geneva, and, having obtained the sanction of the authorities, were accompanied by some members of the council in our visit to the Schools of the town and neighbourhood. Thence we proceeded to the Canton de Vaud, inspecting certain rural Schools, and the Schools of the towns on the borders of the lake on our way to Lausanne. Here we spent two days in company with M. Gauthey, the director of the Normal School of the canton, whose valuable Report has been translated by Sir John Boileau, our fellow-traveller in this part of our journey.

At Lausanne we attended the lectures, and examined the classes in the Normal School and the Town Schools, and enjoyed much useful and instructive conversation with M. Gauthey, who appeared eminently well qualified for his important labours.

At Fribourg we spent some time in the Convent of the Capuchin friars, where we found the venerable Père Girard officiating at a religious festival; but he belongs to the Dominican order. The Père Girard has a European reputation among those who have laboured to raise the elementary instruction of the poorer classes, consequent on his pious labours among the poor of Fribourg; and the success of his Schools appeared to us chiefly attributable, —first, to the skill and assiduity with which the monitors had been instructed in the evening by the father and his assistants, by which they had been raised to the level of the pupil teachers of Holland; and secondly, to the skilful

manner in which Père Girard and his assistants had infused a moral lesson into every incident of the instruction, and had bent the whole force of their minds to the formation of the character of the children. It was, at the period of our visit, the intention of Père Girard to publish a series of works of elementary instruction at Paris, for which we have since waited in vain.

Near Berne we spent much time in conversation with M. De Fellenberg, at Hofwyl. We visited his great establishment for education there, as well as the Normal School at Munchen Buchsee, in which visit we were accompanied by M. De Fellenberg. What we learned from the conversation of this patriotic and high-minded man we cannot find space here to say. His words are better read in the establishments which he has founded, and which he superintends, and in the influence which his example and his precepts have had on the rest of Switzerland, and on other parts of Europe. The town Schools of Berne and other parts of the canton merited, and received, our attention.

At Lucerne we carefully examined the Normal and Orphan Schools. Thence we proceeded through Schweiz, with the intention of visiting the colony of the Linth, in Glarus, but failed, from the state of the mountain roads. Crossing the lake of Zurich at Rapperschwyl, we successively visited St. Gall and Appenzell, examining some of the most interesting Orphan Schools in the mountains, particularly one kept by a pupil of De Fellenberg at Teuffen, the Normal School at Gais (Kruisi, the director of which, is a pupil of Pestalozzi), and the Orphan School of M. Zeltveger at Appenzell.

Descending from the mountains, we crossed the lake to Constance, where we found Vehrli, who had many years conducted the poor school of De Fellenberg at Hofwyl, now in charge of the Normal School of the Canton of Thurgovia, in a large mansion once connected with the convent of Kruitzlingen. Here we spent two days in constant communication with Vehrli and his pupils,

in the examination of his classes, and deriving from him much information respecting his labours. From Constance we travelled to Zurich, where we carefully examined the Normal and Model Schools, both at that time considerably shaken by the recent revolution.

At Lenzburg we had much useful conversation with the director of the Normal School of the Canton of Aargovia; thence we travelled to Basle, where we visited the orphan house of the town, and also that at Beuggen, as well as other Schools of repute.

We have ventured to give this sketch of our journey in Switzerland as some apology for the strength of the opinion we have formed on the necessity which exists for the establishment of a training School for the teachers of pauper children in this country. Our inquiries were not confined to this object; but both here, at Paris, in Holland, and in Germany, we bought every book which we thought might be useful in our future labours; and in every canton we were careful to collect all the laws relating to education, the regulations of the Normal and Elementary Schools, and the bye-laws by which these institutions were governed. An abstract of these laws would form a most useful contribution to the literature of this country, which is well prepared to regard with respect the institutions of the free Protestant states of Switzerland.

In the Orphan Schools which have emanated from Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg, we found the type which has assisted us in our subsequent labours. In walking with M. De Fellenberg through Hofwyl, we listened to the precepts which we think most applicable to the education of the pauper class. In the Normal School of the Canton of Thurgovia, and in the Orphan Schools of St. Gall and Appenzell, we found the development of those principles so far successful as to assure us of their practical utility.

The Normal School at Krutzlingen is in the summer palace of the former abbot of the convent of that name, on the shore of the Lake of Constance, about one mile from the gate of the city. The pupils are sent thither,

from the several communes of the canton, to be trained three years by Vehrli, before they take charge of the Communal Schools. Their expenses are borne in part by the commune, and partly by the council of the canton. We found 90 young men, apparantly from 18 to 24 or 26 years of age, in the School. Vehrli welcomed us with frankness and simplicity, which at once won our confidence. We joined him at his frugal meal. He pointed to the viands, which were coarse, and said, 'I am a peasant's son. I wish to be no other than I am, the teacher of the sons of the peasantry. You are welcome to my meal: it is coarse and homely, but it is offered cordially.'

We sat down with him. 'These potatoes,' he said, 'are our own. We won them from the earth, and therefore we need no dainties; for our appetite is gained by labour, and the fruit of our toil is always savoury.' This introduced the subject of industry. He told us all the pupils of the Normal School laboured daily some hours in a garden of several acres attached to the house, and that they performed all the domestic duty of the household. When we walked out with Vehrli, we found them in the garden digging, and carrying on other garden operations with great assiduity. Others were sawing wood into logs, and chopping it into billets in the court-yard. Some brought in sacks of potatoes on their back, or baskets of recently gathered vegetables. Others laboured in the domestic duties of the household.

After a while the bell rang, and immediately their out-door labours terminated, and they returned in an orderly manner, with all their implements, to the court-yard, where having deposited them, thrown off their frocks, and washed, they re-assembled in their respective classrooms.

We soon followed them. Here we listened to lessons in mathematics, proving that they were well-grounded in the elementary parts of that science. We saw them drawing from models with considerable skill and precision, and heard them instructed in the laws of perspective.

We listened to a lecture on the code of the canton, and to instruction in the geography of Europe. We were informed that their instruction extended to the language of the canton, its construction and grammar, and especially to the history of Switzerland; arithmetic; mensuration; such a knowledge of natural philosophy and mechanics as might enable them to explain the chief phenomena of nature and the mechanical forces; some acquaintance with astronomy. They had continual lessons in pedagogy, or the theory of the art of teaching, which they practised in the neighbouring village school. We were assured that their instruction in the Holy Scriptures, and other religious knowledge, was a constant subject of solicitude.¹

The following extract from Vehrl's address at the first examination of the pupils, in 1837, will best explain the spirit that governs the seminary, and the attention paid there to what we believe has been too often neglected in this country—the education of the heart and feelings, as distinct from the cultivation of the intellect. It may appear strange to English habits to assign so prominent a place in an educational institution to the following points; but the indication here given of the superior care bestowed in the formation of the character to what is given to the acquisition of knowledge, forms in our view the chief charm and merit in this and several other Swiss seminaries, and is what we have laboured to impress on the institution we have founded. To those who can enter into its spirit, the following extract will not appear tinged with too sanguine views:—

‘The course of life in this seminary is threefold :—

‘1st.—Life in the home circle, or family life.

‘2nd.—Life in the school-room.

‘3rd.—Life beyond the walls in the cultivation of the soil.

‘I place the family life first, for here the truest education is imparted; here the future teacher can best receive that cultivation of the character and feelings which will fit him to direct those, who are intrusted to his care, in the ways of piety and truth.

‘A well-arranged family circle is the place where each member, by participating

¹ See Table of the course of instruction in Appendix.

in the other's joys and sorrows, pleasures and misfortunes, by teaching, advice, consolation, and example, is inspired with sentiments of single-mindedness, of charity, of mutual confidence, of noble thoughts, of high feelings, and of virtue.

'In such a circle can a true religious sense take the firmest and the deepest root. Here it is that the principles of Christian feeling can best be laid, where opportunity is continually given for the exercise of affection and charity, which are the first virtues that should distinguish a teacher's mind. Here it is that kindness and earnestness can most surely form the young members to be good and intelligent men, and that each is most willing to learn and receive an impress from his fellow. He who is brought up in such a circle, who thus recognises all his fellow-men as brothers, serves them with willingness whenever he can, treats all his race as one family, loves them, and God their Father above all, how richly does such a one scatter blessings around! What earnestness does he show in all his doings and conduct—what devotion especially does he display in the business of a teacher! How differently from him does that master enter and leave his school whose feelings are dead to a sense of piety, and whose heart never beats in unison with the joys of family life.

'Where is such a teacher as I have described most pleasantly occupied? In his school amongst his children, with them in the house of God, or in the family circle, and wherever he can be giving or receiving instruction. A great man has expressed, perhaps too strongly, "I never wish to see a teacher who cannot sing." With more reason I would maintain, that a teacher to whom a sense of the pleasures of a well-arranged family is wanting, and who fails to recognise in it a well-grounded religious influence, should never enter a school-room.'

As we returned from the garden with the pupils on the evening of the first day, we stood for a few minutes with Vehrli in the court-yard by the shore of the lake. The pupils had ascended into the class-rooms, and the evening being tranquil and warm, the windows were thrown up, and we shortly afterwards heard them sing in excellent harmony. As soon as this song had ceased, we sent a message to request another, with which we had become familiar in our visits to the Swiss schools; and thus, in succession, we called for song after song of Nageli, imagining that we were only directing them at their usual hour of instruction in vocal music. There was a great charm in this simple but excellent harmony. When we had listened nearly an hour, Vehrli invited us to ascend into the room where the pupils were assembled. We followed him, and on entering the apartment great was our surprise to discover the whole school, during the period we had listened, had been cheering with songs their evening employment of peeling potatoes, and cutting the stalks from the green vegetables and beans which they had gathered in the garden. As we stood there

they renewed their choruses till prayers were announced. Supper had been previously taken. After prayers, Vehrli, walking about the apartment, conversed with them familiarly on the occurrences of the day, mingling with his conversation such friendly admonition as sprang from the incidents, and then, lifting his hands, he recommended them to the protection of heaven and dismissed them to rest.

We spent two days with great interest in this establishment. Vehrli had ever on his lips, 'We are peasants' sons; we would not be ignorant of our duties; but God forbid that knowledge should make us despise the simplicity of our lives. The earth is our mother, and we gather our food from her breast, but while we peasants labour for our daily food we may learn many lessons from our mother earth. There is no knowledge in books like an immediate converse with nature, and those that dig the soil have nearest communion with her. Believe me, or believe me not, this is the thought that can make a peasant's life sweet and his toil a luxury. I know it; for see, my hands are horny with toil. The lot of men is very equal, and wisdom consists in the discovery of the truth, that what is *without* is not the source of sorrow, but that which is *within*. A peasant may be happier than a prince if his conscience be pure before God, and he learn not only contentment, but joy in the life of labour, which is to prepare him for the life of heaven.'

This was the theme always on Vehrli's lips. Expressed with more or less perspicuity, his main thought seemed to be that poverty, rightly understood, was no misfortune. He regarded it as a sphere of human exertion and human trial, preparatory to the change of existence, but offering its own sources of enjoyment as abundantly as any other.

'We are all equal,' he said, 'before God; why should the son of a peasant envy a prince, or the lily an oak; are they not both God's creatures?'

We were greatly charmed in this school by the union of comparatively high intellectual attainments among the

scholars with the utmost simplicity of life, and cheerfulness in the humblest menial labour. Their food was of the coarsest character, consisting chiefly of vegetables, soups, and very brown bread. They rose between four and five, took three meals in the day, the last about six, and retired to rest at nine. They seemed happy in their lot.

Some of the other Normal Schools of Switzerland are remarkable for the same simplicity in their domestic arrangements, though the students exceed in their intellectual attainments all notions prevalent in England of what should be taught in such schools. Thus in the Normal School of the canton of Berne the pupils worked in the fields during eight hours of the day, and spent the rest in intellectual labour. They were clad in the coarsest dresses of the peasantry, wore wooden shoes, and were without stockings. Their intellectual attainments, however, would have enabled them to put to shame the masters of most of our best elementary schools.

Such men, we felt assured, would go forth cheerfully to their humble village homes to spread the doctrine which Vehrli taught of peace and contentment in virtuous exertion; and men similarly trained appeared to us best fitted for the labour of reclaiming the pauper youth of England to the virtues, and restoring them to the happiness of her best instructed peasantry.

We therefore cherished the hope that on this plan a Normal School might be founded for the training of the teachers, to whom the schools for pauper children might be usefully committed. The period seemed to be unpropitious for any public proposals on this subject. We were anxious that a work of such importance should be undertaken by the authorities most competent to carry it into execution successfully, and we painfully felt how inadequate our own resources and experience were for the management of such an experiment; but after various inquiries, which were attended with few encouraging results, we thought that as a last resort we should not incur the

charge of presumption, if, in private and unaided, we endeavoured to work out the first steps of the establishment of an institution for the training of teachers, which we hoped might afterwards be intrusted to abler hands. We determined therefore to devote a certain portion of our own means to this object, believing that when the scheme of the institution was sufficiently mature to enable us to speak of results rather than of anticipations, the well-being of 50,000 pauper children would plead its own cause with the government and the public, so as to secure the future prosperity of the establishment.

The task proposed was, to reconcile a simplicity of life not remote from the habits of the humbler classes, with such proficiency in intellectual attainments, such a knowledge of method, and such skill in the art of teaching, as would enable the pupils selected to become efficient masters of elementary schools. We hoped to inspire them with a large sympathy for their own class. To implant in their minds the thought that their chief honour would be to aid in rescuing that class from the misery of ignorance and its attendant vices. To wean them from the influence of that personal competition in a commercial society which leads to sordid aims. To place before them the unsatisfied want of the uneasy and distressed multitude, and to breathe into them the charity which seeks to heal its mental and moral diseases. We were led to select premises at Battersea chiefly on account of the very frank and cordial welcome with which the suggestion of our plans was received by the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden, the vicar of Battersea. Mr. Eden offered the use of his village schools in aid of the training school, as the sphere in which the pupils might obtain a practical acquaintance with the art of instruction. He also undertook to superintend the training school in all that related to religion.

We, therefore, chose a spacious manor-house close to the Thames, surrounded by a garden of five acres. This house was altered and divided so as to afford a good separate

residence to Dr. Kay¹, who undertook to superintend the progress of the establishment for a limited period, within which it was hoped that the principles on which the training school was to be conducted would be so far developed as to be in course of prosperous execution, and not likely to perish by being confided to other hands.

In the month of January, 1840, the class-rooms were fitted up with desks on the plan described in the Minutes of the Committee of Council, and we furnished the school-house. About the beginning of February some boys were removed from the School of Industry at Norwood, whose conduct had given us confidence in their characters, and who had made a certain proficiency in the elementary instruction of that school.

These boys were chiefly orphans, of little more than 13 years of age, intended to form a class of apprentices. These apprentices would be bound from the age of 14 to that of 21, to pursue, under the guidance and direction of the Poor Law Commission, the vocation of assistant teachers in elementary schools. For this purpose they were to receive at least three years' instruction in the training school, and to be employed as pupil teachers for two years at least in the Battersea village school during three hours of every day.

At the termination of this probationary period (if they were able satisfactorily to pass a certain examination), they were to receive a certificate, of which mention will be made hereafter, and to be employed as assistant teachers under the guidance of experienced and well-conducted masters, in some of the schools of industry for pauper children. They were at this period to be rewarded with a certain remuneration, increasing from year to year, and secured to them by the form of the indenture.

If they were unable to satisfy the examiners of their proficiency in every department of elementary instruction,

¹ For which he pays half the rent and taxes, in addition to his share of the expenses of the school.

and thus failed in obtaining their certificate, they would continue to receive instruction at Battersea until they had acquired the requisite accomplishments.

The number of pupil teachers of this class has been gradually increased, during the period which has since elapsed, to 24. But it seemed essential to the success of the school that the numbers should increase slowly. Its existence was disclosed only to the immediate circles of our acquaintance, by whom some boys were sent to the school, besides those whom we supported at our own expense. For the clothing, board and lodging, and education of each of these boys, who were confided to our care by certain of our friends, we consented to receive £20 per annum towards the general expenses of the schools. Pupil teachers have been placed in the establishment by the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Chichester, Lady Noel Byron, Frederick Walpole Keppel, Esq., the Board of Guardians of the Kingston Union, R. W. Blencowe, Esq., and our colleagues, Edward Senior and Edward Twisleton, and H. W. Parker, Esqrs.

Besides the class of pupil teachers, we consented to receive young men, to remain at least one year in the establishment, either recommended by our personal friends, or to be trained for the schools of gentlemen with whom we were acquainted. These young men have generally been from 20 to 30 years of age. We have admitted some on the recommendation of Lady George Murray, Lady Noel Byron, the Earl of Radnor, the Rev. Mr. Hoskins, of Canterbury; the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, of Holbrook, in Suffolk; Leonard Horner, Esq.

The course of instruction, and the nature of the discipline adopted for the training of these young men, will be described in detail. This class now amounts to 9, a number accumulated only by very gradual accessions, as we were by no means desirous to attract many students until our plans were more mature, and the instruments of our labour were tried and approved.

The subjects of instruction were divided, in the first

instance, into two departments, which will be described in this Report; and over each of these departments a tutor was placed. Mr. Horne arrived at the opening of the school, and Mr. Tate on the 22nd of March, 1840.

The domestic arrangements were conducted with great simplicity, because it was desirable that the pupils should be prepared for a life of self-denial. A sphere of great usefulness might require the labours of a man ready to live among the peasantry on their own level—to mingle with them in their habitations—to partake their frugal or even coarse meals—and to seem their equal only, though their instructor and guide. It was desirable, therefore, that the diet should be as frugal as was consistent with constant activity of mind, and some hours of steady and vigorous labour, and that it should not pamper the appetite by its quality or its variety.

A schoolmaster might settle in a situation in which a school-house only was provided. Prudence might dictate that he should not marry, and then his domestic comfort would depend on himself.

No servants, therefore, were provided, with the exception of a matron, who acted as cook. The whole household-work was committed to the charge of the boys and young men; and for this purpose the duties of each were appointed every fortnight, in order that they might be equally shared by all. The young men above 20 years of age did not aid in the scouring of the floors and stairs, nor clean the shoes, grates, and yards, nor assist in the serving and waiting at meals, the preparation of vegetables and other garden-stuff for the cook. But the making of beds and all other domestic duty was a common lot; and the young men acted as superintendents of the other work.

This was performed with cheerfulness, though it was some time before the requisite skill was attained; and perfect order and cleanliness have been found among the habits most difficult to secure. The pupils and students were carefully informed that these arrangements were

intended to prepare them for the discharge of serious duties in a humble sphere, and to nerve their minds for the trials and vicissitudes of life.

The masters partook the same diet as the pupils, sitting in the centre of the room and assisting in the carving. They encouraged familiar conversation (avoiding the extremes of levity or seriousness) at the meals, but on equal terms with their scholars, with the exception only of the respect involuntarily paid them.

After a short time a cow was bought, and committed to the charge of one of the elder boys. Three pigs were afterwards added to the stock, then three goats, and subsequently, poultry, and a second cow. These animals were all fed and tended, and the cows were daily milked, by the pupil teachers. It seemed important that they should learn to tend animals with care and gentleness; that they should understand the habits and the mode of managing these particular animals, because the school-master in a rural parish often has a common or forest-right of pasture for his cow, and a forest-run for his pig or goat, and might thus, with a little skill, be provided with the means of healthful occupation in his hours of leisure, and of providing for the comfort of his family.

Moreover, such employments were deemed important, as giving the pupils, by actual experience, some knowledge of a peasant's life, and therefore truer and closer sympathy with his lot. They would be able to render their teaching instructive, by adapting it to the actual condition and associations of those to whom it would be addressed. They would be in less danger of despising the labourer's daily toil in comparison with intellectual pursuits, and of being led by their own attainments to form a false estimate of their position in relation to the class to which they belonged, and which they were destined to instruct. The teacher of the peasant's child occupies, as it were, the father's place, in the performance of duties from which the father is separated by his daily toil, and unhappily, at present, by his want of knowledge

and skill. But the schoolmaster ought to be prepared in thought and feeling to do the peasant-father's duty, by having sentiments in common with him, and among these an honest pride in the labour of his hands, in his strength, his manual skill, his robust health, and the manly vigour of his body and mind.

The garden, on the arrival of our pupil teachers, was a wilderness of rubbish, withered grass, and weeds. Our first attention was directed to labours which were to insure the health of the students and pupil teachers, to invigorate their bodies, and make them strong and cheerful men. This was a matter of no mean importance. Many of the young men came to the school altogether unfitted for any common bodily exertion. Some, either from previous habits of inactivity, or from having followed some closely sedentary employment, were exceedingly weak. Slight labour in the garden produced profuse perspiration and exhaustion, or muscular cramps, pains, and even inflammation of the muscles of the chest. In two or three instances, the first attempt to labour in the garden (though cautiously commenced) brought on some slight febrile action, which confined the sufferer to the house for a day or two. Exposure to the weather was at first attended with colds or slight rheumatic attacks. In short, the young men were nearly all unaccustomed to any invigorating bodily exercise, and their first attempts to work required a certain period of transition, in which some caution was requisite.

At first, four hours were devoted every day to labour in the garden. The whole school rose at half-past five. The household-work occupied the pupil teachers altogether, and the students partially, till a quarter to seven o'clock. At a quarter to seven, they marched into the garden, and worked till a quarter to eight, when they were summoned to prayers. They then marched to the tool-house, deposited their implements, washed, and assembled at prayers at eight o'clock. At half-past eight they breakfasted. From nine to twelve they were

in school. They worked at the garden from twelve to one, when they dined. They resumed their labour in the garden at two, and returned to their classes at three, where they were engaged till five, when they worked another hour in the garden. At six they supped, and spent from seven to nine in their classes. At nine, evening prayers were read, and immediately afterwards they retired to rest. The subject of the routine of study and labour will be spoken of hereafter, and subsequent alterations described; and the periods of labour and study are here briefly related in reference only to the earliest period of our proceedings.

The garden, it has been said, was a wilderness of weeds. The first care of the masters was, that it should be regularly trenched over its whole surface; and as the loam was rich and deep, the weeds were buried under three feet of soil. This trenching required vigorous exertion, as the soil had not been disturbed to that depth for many years. The teachers laboured in the trenches, and we occasionally joined. The work, therefore, gradually restored order. As the weeds disappeared, the ground was sown with such garden seeds as would yield the most abundant and useful crop for the household consumption. Attention was this year confined to the most obvious necessities, because the state of the ground required so much labour, that little time could be bestowed in providing a variety of garden-stuff as a means of instructing the pupils in horticulture. The ground, it was expected, would be reclaimed before the ensuing spring; and at that period more comprehensive and systematic instruction in gardening was to commence.

During the past year, however, the garden has yielded almost all the vegetables and a very abundant supply of fruit for the use of the school. As the year advanced, the crops were gathered and followed by others, cabbages and turnips succeeding the potatoes and peas; and where a large crop of mangel-wurzel had been grown for the cows, a green crop was sown for their consumption in the

spring. The disturbance of the soil to so great a depth appeared to have the most beneficial influence on the trees. They bent under a load of fruit, by which the boughs of some were broken ere we were aware, and other boughs had to be disencumbered and propped for their preservation.

In these labours the pupils and students rapidly gained strength. They almost all soon wore the hue of health. Their food was frugal, and they returned to it with appetites which were not easily satisfied. The most delicate soon lost all their ailments. One young man on his arrival was affected with a rheumatic inflammation of the joints, attended with signs of feebleness of constitution, which created some apprehension that this chronic inflammation would incapacitate him. Some perseverance enabled him to work in the garden, and the gymnastic exercises and drill, introduced at a later period, restored him to great muscular vigour. Another had been a tailor, and probably had seldom quitted his shop-board. His first attempts at labour in the garden occasioned inflammation of the muscles of the chest, and severe muscular pains all over the body, attended with much nervous agitation. These symptoms disappeared in about a week or ten days, after which he resumed his work in some light occupations, and by degrees became inured to the more severe, until, after some time, he was the most expert and vigorous athlete in the gymnastic exercises.

The gymnastic frame and the horizontal and parallel bars were not erected until the constitutional and muscular powers of the pupils and students had been invigorated by labour. After a few months' daily work in the garden, the drill was substituted for garden work during one hour daily. The marching exercise and extension movements were practised for several weeks; then the gymnastic apparatus was erected, and the drill and gymnastic exercises succeeded each other on alternate evenings. The knowledge of the marching exercise is very useful in enabling a teacher to secure precision and order in the

movements of the classes or of his entire school, and to pay a due regard to the carriage of each child. A slouching gait is, at least, a sign of vulgarity, if it be not a proof of careless habits—of an inattention to the decencies and proprieties of life, which in other matters occasion discomfort in the labourer's household. Habits of cleanliness, punctuality, and promptitude, are not very compatible with indolence, nor with that careless lounging which frequently squanders not only the labourer's time, but his means, and leads his awkward steps to the village tavern. In giving the child an erect and manly gait, a firm and regular step, precision and rapidity in his movements, promptitude in obedience to commands, and particularly neatness in his apparel and person, we are insensibly laying the foundation of moral habits, most intimately connected with the personal comfort and the happiness of the future labourer's family. We are giving a practical moral lesson, perhaps more powerful than the precepts which are inculcated by words. Those who are accustomed to the management of large schools know of how much importance such lessons are to the establishment of that order and quiet which is the characteristic of the Dutch schools, and which is essential to great success in large schools. A notion is prevalent in some of our English schools that a considerable noise is unavoidable, and some teachers are understood to regard the noise as so favourable a sign of the activity of the school, as even to assert, that the greater the noise the greater the intellectual progress of the scholars. The intellectual activity of the best Dutch schools is quite as great as that of any school in this country, and their average merit is exceedingly greater than that of the town schools of England; but a visitor seldom finds in a school of 700 children more than twelve persons speaking in the room at the same time, and those twelve persons are each speaking in a natural tone, and are distinctly heard. Such results do not depend solely or chiefly on the discipline of the drill-master, but they arise, in fact, from that minute attention

to all the details of school organisation which secures the greatest amount of attention from the pupil, with the least amount of disturbance to his fellows. In the result, however, attention to the *posture* and to the *movements* of the children is by no means an unimportant element.

The training of the pupil teachers and students in the marching exercises had not, therefore, reference solely to their own habits and health—to their own love of order, cleanliness, and propriety, but to the influence of the formation of such habits in them on their future scholars. Neither was it deemed an unimportant element of the discipline and organisation of schools to enable the master to detect at a glance the cause of any disorder in inconvenient postures and ill-timed and inappropriate motions, which it is a part of the duty of an experienced master to control *by a sign*.

The gymnastic exercises were intended, in like manner, to prepare the teachers to superintend the exercises and amusements of the school playground;—to instruct the children systematically in those graduated trials of strength, activity, and adroitness, by which the muscles are developed, and the frame is prepared for sustaining prolonged or sudden efforts. The playground of the school is so important a means of separating the children from the vicious companions and evil example of the street or lane, and of prolonging the moral influence of the master over the habits and thoughts of his scholars, that expedients which increase its attractions are important, and especially those which enable the master to mingle with his scholars usefully and cheerfully. The schools of the Canton de Vaud are generally furnished with the proper apparatus for this purpose, and we frequently observed it in France and Germany.

The pupil teachers and students soon acquired considerable skill in these exercises. Their practice was interrupted by the equinoctial rains, but resumed as soon as the frost brought with it more settled weather, and will be steadily pursued.

The physical training of our charge was not confined to these labours and exercises. Occasionally Dr. Kay accompanied them in long walking excursions into the country, in which they spent the whole day in visiting some distant school or remarkable building connected with historical associations, or some scene replete with other forms of instruction. In those excursions their habits of observation were cultivated, their attention was directed to what was most remarkable, and to such facts and objects as might have escaped observation from their comparative obscurity. Their strength was taxed by the length of the excursion, as far as was deemed prudent; and after their return home they were requested to write an account of what they had seen, in order to afford evidence of the nature of the impressions which the excursion had produced.

Such excursions usefully interrupted the ordinary routine of the school, and afforded a pleasing variety in the intercourse between ourselves and the teachers and pupils. They spurred the physical activity of the students, and taught them habits of endurance, as they seldom returned without being considerably fatigued.

Such excursions are common to the best Normal Schools of Switzerland. It is very evident to the educators of Switzerland that to neglect to take their pupils forth to read the great truths left on record on every side of them in the extraordinary features of that country, would betray an indifference to nature, and to its influence on the development of the human intelligence, proving that the educator had most limited views of his mission, and of the means by which its high purposes were to be accomplished.

The great natural records of Switzerland, and its historical recollections, abound with subjects for instructive commentary, of which the professors of the Normal Schools avail themselves in their autumnal excursions with their pupils. The natural features of the country; its drainage, soils, agriculture; the causes which have

affected the settlement of its inhabitants and its institutions; the circumstances which have assisted in the formation of the national character, and have thus made the history of their country, are more clearly apprehended by lessons gathered in the presence of facts typical of other facts scattered over hill and valley. England is so rich in historical recollections, and in the monuments by which the former periods of her history are linked with the present time, that it would seem to be a not unimportant duty of the educator to avail himself of such facts as lie within the range of his observation, in order that the historical knowledge of his scholar may be associated with these records, marking the progress of civilisation in his native country. Few schools are placed beyond the reach of such means of instruction. Where they do not exist, the country must present some natural features worthy of being perused. These should not be neglected. In book-learning there is always a danger that the thing signified may not be discerned through the sign. The child may acquire words instead of thought. To have a clear and earnest conviction of the reality of the things signified, the object of the child's instruction should as frequently as possible be brought under its eye. Thus Pestalozzi was careful to devise lessons on objects in which, by actual contact with the sense, the children were led to discern qualities which they afterwards described in words. Such lessons have no meaning for persons who are satisfied with instruction by rote. If we contend that it is important to a right moral state of the intelligence that the child should have a clear perception and *vivid conviction* of every fact presented to mind. We are of opinion that to extend the province of faith and implicit unreasoning obedience to those subjects which are the proper objects on which the perceptive faculties ought to be exercised, and on which the reason should be employed, is to undermine the basis of unwavering faith in revelation, by provoking the rebellion of the human spirit against authority in matters in which reason is free.

To the young, the truth (bare before the sight, palpable to the touch, embodied in forms which the senses realise) has a charm which no mere words can convey, until they are recognised as the sign of the truth, which the mind comprehends. In all that relates to the external phenomena of the world, the best book is nature, with an intelligent interpreter. What concerns the social state of man may be best apprehended after lessons in the fields, the ruins, the mansions, and the streets within the range of the school. Lessons on the individual objects prepare the mind for generalizations, and for the exercise of faith in its proper province. Elementary schools, in which word-teaching only exists, do not produce earnest and truthful men. The practice, prevalent in certain parts of the Highlands and Wales, of teaching the children to read English books, though they understand nothing of the English language, is about as reasonable as the ordinary mode of teaching by rote, either matters which the children do not understand, or which they do not receive with a lively conviction of their truth. The master who neglects opportunities of satisfying the intelligence of his pupil on anything that can be made obvious to the sense, must be content to find that when his lessons rise to abstractions he will be gazed upon by vacant faces. The mind will refuse a lively confidence in general truths, when it has not been convinced of the existence of the particular facts from which they are derived. From a master, accustomed to regard himself as the interpreter of nature, as the engrafter of thoughts and not of words, and who is endeavouring to form the character of his pupils by inspiring them with an earnest love for truth, the pupils will gladly take much upon authority with a lively confidence. From the rote teacher they take nothing but words; he gains no confidence; it is difficult to love him, because it is not obvious what good he communicates; it is difficult to trust him, because he asks belief when he takes no pains to inspire conviction. What reverence can attach to a man teaching a

Highland child to read English words, which are unmeaning sounds to him?

The excursions of the directors of the Swiss Normal Schools also serve the purpose of breaking for a time an almost conventual seclusion, which forms a characteristic of establishments in which the education of the habits, as well as the instruction of the intelligence, is kept in view. These excursions in Switzerland extend to several days, and even longer in schools of the more wealthy classes. The pupils are thus thrown in contact with actual society; their resources are taxed by the incidents of each day; their moral qualities are somewhat tried, and they obtain a glimpse of the perspective of their future life. It is not only important in this way to know what the condition of society is before the pupil is required to enter it, but it is also necessary to keep constantly before his eye the end and aim of education—that it is a preparation for the duties of his future life, and to understand in what respect each department of his studies is adapted to prepare him for the actual performance of those duties. For each class of society there is an appropriate education. The Normal Schools of Switzerland are founded on this principle. None are admitted who are not devoted to the vocation of masters of elementary schools. The three or four years of their residence in the school are considered all too short for a complete preparation for these functions. The time therefore is consumed in appropriate studies, care being taken that these studies are so conducted as to discipline and develop the intelligence; to form habits of thought and action; and to inspire the pupil with principles on which he may repose in the discharge of his duties.

Among these studies and objects, the actual condition of the labouring class, its necessities, resources, and intelligence, form a most important element. The teachers go forth to observe for themselves; they come back to receive further instruction from their master. They are led to anticipate their own relations to the commune or

parish in which their future school will be placed. They are prepared by instruction to fulfil certain of the communal duties which may usefully devolve upon them; such as registrar, precentor, or leader of the church choir, and clerk to the associations of the village. They receive familiar expositions of the law affecting the fulfilment of these duties.

The benefits derived from these arrangements are great; not only in furnishing these rural communes with men competent to the discharge of their duties, but the anticipations of future utility, and the conviction that their present studies enfold the germ of their future life, gives an interest to their pursuits, which it would be difficult to communicate, if the sense of their importance were more vague and indistinct.

To this end, in the excursions from Battersea we have been careful to enter the schools on our route, and lessons have been given on the duties attaching to the offices which may be properly discharged by a village schoolmaster in connexion with his duty of instructing the young.

This general sketch may suffice to give an idea of the external relations of the life of a student in the training school, with the important exception of that portion of his time devoted to the acquirement of a practical knowledge of the duties of a schoolmaster in the village school. This may be more conveniently considered in connexion with the intellectual pursuits of the school. We now proceed to regard the school as a *household*, and to give a brief sketch of its familiar relations.

The period which has elapsed since the school was assembled is much too brief to enable us fully to realise our conception of such a household among young persons, to the majority of whom the suitable example had perhaps never been presented.

The most obvious truth lay at the threshold: a family can only subsist harmoniously by mutual love, confidence,

and respect. We did not seek to put the tutors into situations of inaccessible authority, but to place them in the parental seat, to receive the willing respect and obedience of their pupils, and to act as the elder brothers of the young men. The residence of one of us for a certain period, in near connexion with them, appeared necessary to give that tone to the familiar intercourse which would enable the tutors to conduct the instruction, and to maintain the discipline, so as to be at once the friends and guides of their charge.

It was desirable that the tutors should reside in the house. They rose at the same hours with the scholars (except when prevented by sickness), and superintended more or less the general routine. Since the numbers have become greater, and the duties more laborious, it has been found necessary that the superintendence of the periods of labour should be committed to each tutor alternately. They have set the example in working—frequently giving assistance in the severest labour, or that which was least attractive.

In the autumn, some extensive alterations of the premises were to a large extent effected by the assistance of the entire school. The tutors not only superintended but assisted in the work. Mr. Tate contributed his mechanical knowledge, and Mr. Horne assisted in the execution of the details. In the cheerful industry displayed on this and on other similar occasions, we have witnessed with satisfaction one of the best fruits of the discipline of the school. The conceit of the pedagogue is not likely to arise among either students or masters, who cheerfully handle the trowel, the saw, or carry mortar in a hod to the top of the building; such simplicity of life is not very consistent with that vanity which occasions insincerity. But freedom from this vice is essential to that harmonious interchange of kind offices and mutual respect which we were anxious to preserve.

The diet of the household is simple. The fruits and vegetables of the garden afford the chief variety without

luxury. The teachers sit in the midst of their scholars. The familiar intercourse of the meals is intended to be a means of cultivating kindly affections, and of insuring that the example of the master shall insensibly form the habits of the scholar. Every day confirms the growing importance of these arrangements.

It has been an object of especial care that the morning and evening prayers should be conducted with solemnity. A hall has been prepared for this service, which is conducted at seven o'clock every morning in that place. A passage of Scripture having been read, a portion of a psalm is chanted, or they sing a hymn; and prayers follow, generally from the family selection prepared by the Bishop of London. The evening service is conducted in a similar manner. The solemnity of the music, which is performed in four parts, is an important means of rendering the family devotion impressive. We trust that the benefits derived from these services may not be transient, but that the masters reared in this school will remember the household devotions, and will maintain in their own dwellings and schools the family rite with equal care.

Quiet has been enjoined on the pupils in retiring to rest.

The Sunday has been partially occupied by its appropriate studies. The services of the church have been attended morning and evening; and, besides a certain period devoted to the study of the formularies, the evening has been spent in writing out from memory a copious abstract of one of the sermons. At eight o'clock these compositions have been read and commented upon in the presence of the whole school; and a most useful opportunity has been afforded for religious instruction, besides the daily instruction in the Bible. Mr. Eden has likewise attended the school on Friday, and examined the classes in their acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures and formularies of the Church. The religious department, generally, is under his superintendence.

The skill which they have acquired in singing has en-

abled Mr. Eden to create from the school a choir for the village church, increasing the solemnity of the services by the manner in which the sacred music is performed.

The household and external life of the school are so interwoven with the lessons, that it becomes necessary to consider some of their details together, before the intellectual instruction is separately treated.

The boys who were selected as apprentices were rather chosen on account of their characters than their acquirements, which were very meagre. The young men who have been admitted as students have frequently been found even worse prepared than the boys of thirteen years of age, chiefly brought from Norwood, though some of these young men have been in charge of village and work-house schools. Their acquaintance even with rudimental knowledge would not bear the test of slight examination. With pupils and students alike, it was therefore found necessary to commence at an early stage of instruction, and to furnish them with the humblest elements of knowledge. The time which has elapsed since the school has opened ought therefore to be regarded as a preparatory period, similar to that which, in Germany, is spent from the time of leaving the primary school to sixteen, the period of entering the Normal School, in what is called a preparatory training school.

As such preparatory schools do not exist in this country, we had no alternative. We selected the boys of the most promising character, and determined to wade through the period of preparation, and ultimately to create a preparatory class in the school itself. Our design was to examine the pupils of this class at the end of the first year, and to grant to such of them as gave proof of a certain degree of proficiency a certificate as *Candidates* of the training school. At the end of the second year's course of instruction, it is intended that a second examination shall occur, in which proficient students may obtain the certificate of *Scholar*; and at the close of the ordinary course in the third year,

another examination is to be held, in which the certificate of *Master* will be conferred on those who have attained a certain rank intellectually, and who support their claims by a correct moral deportment.

The means of determining this proficiency will be described hereafter.

Training schools, developed on this design, would therefore consist of —

1. Preparatory classes of Students and Pupils.
2. A class of Candidates.
3. A class of Scholars.

And some students, who had obtained the certificate of Master, might remain in the school in preparation for special duties as the Masters of important *district schools*, or as Tutors in other training schools. These students would constitute

4. A class of Masters.

Hitherto the training school has not passed the preparatory stage. No certificate of candidateship has been granted; and the examination of the qualifications of the students and pupils, by which they can acquire this certificate, will not occur till the end of March, at which period a certain number will have resided a year in the establishment. Another examination may probably take place on the 30th of June, and other certificates of candidateship may then be distributed to those who came to the school between March and June of last year.

The routine of preparatory classes was at an early period arranged according to the annexed Table, which regulated the daily lessons of the school until the members of the first class were employed as pupil-teachers in assisting in the instruction of the village school.

DAILY ROUTINE.

Half-past 5 Quarter to 6 Quarter to 7 Quarter to 8 8 After prayer Half-past 8	Rise, wash, dress, and make beds. Household work, viz., scouring and sweeping floors, cleaning grates, shoes, knives, &c., pumping water and preparing vegetables. March into garden and commence garden-work, feed pigs, poultry, and milk cows. March from garden, deposit tools, and wash. Reading of Scriptures and prayer. (In the spring half an hour was commonly occupied in a familiar exposition of the passage of Scripture read.) Superintendents present reports. Breakfast.
9 to half-past 9	Classes united.
Half-past 9 to } half-past 10 } Half-past 10 to 11	First class. Second class. First class. Second class.
11 to 12	Classes united.
12 to 1 Quarter-past 1	Garden work, feeding the animals, &c., &c. March to the house at 1, wash, and prepare for dinner.

MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
Reading in the Bible and religious instruction. The Gospels. The Acts of the Apostles.	Reading in the Bible and religious instruction. The Gospels.	Reading in the Bible and religious instruction. The Acts of the Apostles.	Reading in the Bible and religious instruction. The Epistles.	Committing to memory texts of Scripture.	Committing to memory texts of Scripture, or examination on the Scriptural reading of the week.
Mechanics. Arithmetic. Mental arithmetic.	Arithmetic. Mechanics. Etymology.	Mechanics. Arithmetic. Mental arithmetic.	Arithmetic. Mechanics. Etymology.	Mechanics. Arithmetic. Mental arithmetic.	Weekly examination. Ditto.
Etymology. Geography.	Mental arithmetic. Geography.	Etymology. Music.	Mental arithmetic. Geography.	Etymology. Geography.	Music.

	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
2 to 3 . . .	Classes united.	Map drawing.	Mechanical drawing.	Common and isometrical perspective.	Map drawing.	Weekly examination.
3 to 4 . . .	First class.	Use of the globes.	Mensuration.	Use of the globes.	Algebra.	Ditto.
4 to 5 . . .	Second class.	Grammar.	Algebra.	Grammar.	Grammar.	Ditto.
	First class.	Grammar.	Object lesson.	Grammar.		
	Second class.	Committing to memory arithmetical tables and rules of grammar, or mechanical formulae.	. . .	Committing to memory arithmetical tables and rules of grammar, or mechanical formulae.	Committing to memory.	
5 . . .	March to garden-work, feed pigs, poultry, &c., and milk cows.					
6 . . .	March from garden, wash, and prepare for supper.					
Quarter-past 6.	Supper.					
7 . . .	Drill and gymnastic exercises.					
8 . . .	Copying music or notes on geography, or mechanical formulae, in the upper class-room. During this period the History of England is read aloud. Another class practising singing in the lower class-room.					
9 . . .	Reading of Scriptures and prayer.					
20 minutes past 9.	Retire to rest.					
SUNDAY.						
After divine service one of the sermons of the day is written from memory. In the evening the compositions are read and commented upon, and the Catechism or some other portion of the formularies of the Church is repeated, with texts of Scripture illustrating it.						
Some of the elder students teach in the village Sunday-school.						

The weekly examination was conducted orally during the day, until Dr. Kay's engagements in town rendered it necessary that some other method of examination should be adopted. As soon, therefore, as the attainments of the students and pupils appeared to warrant the experiment, an hour was daily appropriated to examination by means of questions written on the board before the class, the replies to which were worked on paper, in silence, in the presence of one of the tutors. This hour is, on successive days of the week, appropriated to different subjects; viz., grammar, etymology, arithmetic, mensuration, algebra, mechanics, geography, and biblical knowledge. The examination papers are then carefully examined by the tutor to whose department they belong, in order that the value of the reply to each question may be determined in reference to mean numbers, 3, 4, 5, and 6. These mean numbers are used to express the comparative difficulty of every question, and the greatest merit of each reply is expressed by the numbers 6, 8, and 10 and 12 respectively, the lowest degree of merit being indicated by 1.

The sum of the numbers thus attached to each answer is entered in the examination-book opposite to the name of each pupil. These numbers are added up at the end of the week, and reduced to an average by dividing them by the number of days of examination which have occurred in the week. In a similar manner, at the end of the month, the sum of the weekly averages is, for the sake of convenience, reduced by dividing them by four; and a convenient number is thus obtained, expressing the intellectual progress of each boy. These numbers are not published in the school, but are reserved as an element by which we may be enabled to award the certificates of Candidate, Scholar, and Master.

The examination papers are in our possession after the close of each week, and we select certain of them for our special examination, in order that we may form an opinion of the intellectual progress of each pupil.

The examination for the quarterly certificates will

necessarily also include the inspection of the writing, drawings, abstracts, and compositions. Oral examination will be required to ascertain the degree of promptitude and ease in expression of each pupil. They will likewise be required to give demonstrations of problems in arithmetic, algebra, and mechanics, on the black-board, to describe the geography of a district in the form of a lecture, and to conduct a class before us, ere we award the certificates.

The examination of the pupils will gradually rise in importance, and the quarterly examinations will be marked by a progressive character, leading to the three chief examinations for the certificates of Candidate, Scholar, and Master, which will be distinguished from each other, both as respects the nature and number of the acquirements, and by the degree of proficiency required in some branches which will be common to the three periods of study.

In another department of registration we have thought it important to avoid certain errors of principle to which such registers appear to be liable. We have been anxious to have a record of some parts of moral conduct connected with habits formed in the school, but we have not attempted to register *moral merit*. Such registers are at best very difficult to keep. They occasion rivalry, and often hypocrisy. On this account we did not deem it advisable to require that they should be kept; but it was important that we should be informed of certain errors interfering with the formation of habits of punctuality, industry, cleanliness, order, and subordination; and registers were devised for noting deviations from propriety in these respects. First, a *time-book* is directed to be kept, in which the observance of the hour of rising, and of the successive periods marked in the routine of the school is noted, in order that any general cause of aberration may meet the eye at once. Secondly, one book is kept by the superintendents appointed from among the students to inspect the *household work above stairs*, another in relation to the *household work below stairs*, and a third by the tutor having charge of

out-door labour. In these books the duties assigned to each pupil are entered opposite to his name. The superintendent, at the expiration of the period allotted to the work, marks in columns under each of the following heads,—Subordination, Industry, Cleanliness, Order,—the extent of deviation from propriety of conduct by numbers varying from 1 to 4.

The register of punctuality in classes is kept by writing opposite to each pupil's name the number of minutes which elapse after the proper period before he enters the class. The sum of the numbers recorded in these books denotes the extent of errors in habits and manners into which any of the pupils fall, and directs our attention to the fact. Such records would, in connexion with the results of the examinations, enable us to determine whether, in reference to each period, a certificate of *Candidate*, *Scholar*, or *Master*, of the *first*, *second*, or *third* degree, should be granted.

The reports of the superintendents are presented to Dr. Kay immediately after morning prayers. The record is read in the presence of the school, and any appeal against the entry heard. At this period the relation which the entire discipline holds to the future pursuits of the pupils is from time to time made familiar to them by simple expositions of the principles by which it is regulated.

The tendency towards any error in the general conduct is indicated by the registers, and is at this period, if necessary, made the subject of mild expostulation.

Such expostulations have been needed in relation to such *precision* in the orderly management of the detail of *work* and *household service* as can perhaps only be attained by greater experience than the pupils have yet enjoyed.

The superintendents are chosen from among those students who appear to possess the requisite qualifications. We thus have an unexceptionable means of distinguishing with offices of trust those in whom we can place most confidence, and of preparing them for the discharge

of their future duties by accustoming them to a mild vigilance, to fidelity, impartiality, and firmness. On the other hand, the rest of the pupils learn subordination to those who, on account of these qualifications, exercise a limited degree of control over them, and are thus prepared to occupy subordinate positions if it be found necessary that they should be employed as assistants.

The special training of those who may hereafter take charge of district schools for pauper children has been fulfilled, by charging certain of the superintendents with other details of the domestic arrangements. For this purpose a Steward has been appointed among the young men, who has cut and weighed the provisions, and kept accounts resembling the 'Provision Consumption Account' of a workhouse. The dietary has been found to preserve the pupils and students in florid health, under the physical and mental activity in which they have lived.

The dietary is hung in the steward's room, and guides him in cutting the rations for each meal.

It does not indicate the amount of vegetables and fruit in pies which are consumed; and it ought to be remarked that the fruit pies and vegetables have formed a wholesome and considerable part of the food of the household, which has perhaps been enjoyed with the greater relish as it is the product of the labours in the garden.

The influenza of the spring has been the only sickness which has occurred in the house, excepting those ailments which some of the students brought with them, and which disappeared as soon as they were accustomed to the routine of labour and instruction. Instead of sickness, numerous signs of increased strength, activity, and vigour are observed, which confirm the views by which the diet and the alternations of employment and study have been regulated.

This is the *household life* of the school. In proceeding to speak of the intellectual training, we premise that this report affords little opportunity for an explanation of the

principles which have determined and regulated the preparatory course of instruction, and that we do not intend to anticipate the course which will be pursued in the future periods of study for the certificates of *Scholar* and *Master*. The questions which beset every step of this path could only be properly discussed in a work on pedagogy, resembling the numerous German publications on this subject. Brief hints only of these principles can find a place in the remarks we have to offer on the preparatory course.

The students have been stimulated in their application by a constant sense of the practical utility of their intellectual labours. After morning prayers, they are from day to day reminded of the connexion between their present and future pursuits, and informed how every part of the discipline and study has a direct relation to the duties of a schoolmaster. The conviction thus created becomes a powerful incentive to exertion, which might be wanting if those studies were selected only because they were important as a discipline of the mind.

The sense of practical utility seems as important to the earnestness of the student as the lively conviction attending object teaching in the early and simplest form of elementary instruction. In the earliest steps an acquaintance with the real is necessary to lively conceptions of truth, and at a later period a sense of the value of knowledge resulting from *experience* inspires the strongest conviction of the dignity and importance of all truth, where its immediate practical utility is not obvious.

Far, therefore, from fearing that the sense of the practical utility of these studies will lead the students to measure the value of all truth by a low standard, their pursuits have been regulated by the conviction, that the most certain method of attaining a strong sense of the value of truths, not readily applicable to immediate use, is to ascertain by experience the importance of those which can be readily measured by the standard of practical utility. Thus we approach the conception of the momentum

of a planet moving in its orbit, from ascertaining the momentum of bodies whose weight and velocity we can measure by the simplest observations. From the level of the experience of the practical utility of certain common truths, the mind gradually ascends to the more abstract, whose importance hence becomes more easily apparent, though their present application is not obvious, and in this way the thoughts most safely approach the most difficult abstractions.

In the humble pursuits of the preparatory course, a lively sense of the utility of their studies has likewise been maintained by the method of instruction adopted. Nothing has been taught *dogmatically*, but everything by the combination of the simplest elements: *i. e.*, the course which a discoverer must have trod has been followed, and the way in which truths have been ascertained pointed out by a synthetical demonstration of each successive step. The labour of the previous analysis of the subject is the duty of the teacher, and is thus removed from the child.

The preparatory course is especially important, because the pupil's instruction is conducted on the principles which will guide him in the management of his own school. Having ascertained what the pupil knows, the teacher endeavours to lead him by gentle and easy steps from the known to the unknown. The instruction, in the whole preparatory course, is chiefly oral, and is illustrated, as much as possible, by appeals to nature and by demonstrations. Books are not resorted to until the teacher is convinced that the mind of his pupil is in a state of healthful activity; that there has been awakened in him a lively interest in truth, and that he has become acquainted practically with the inductive method of acquiring knowledge. At this stage the rules, the principles of which have been orally communicated, and with whose application he is familiar, are committed to memory from books, to serve as a means of recalling more readily the knowledge and skill thus attained. This course is Pestalozzian, and, it will be per-

ceived, is the reverse of the method usually followed, which consists in giving the pupil the rule first. Experience, however, has confirmed us in the superiority of the plan we have pursued. Sometimes a book, as for example a work on Physical Geography, is put into his hands, in order that it may be carefully read, and that the student may prepare himself to give before the class a verbal abstract of the chapter selected for this purpose, and to answer such questions as may be proposed to him, either by the tutor or by his fellows. During the preparatory course exercises of this kind have not been so numerous as they will be in the more advanced stages of instruction. Until habits of attention and steady application had been formed, it seemed undesirable to allow to the pupils hours for self-sustained study, or voluntary occupation. Constant superintendence is necessary to the formation of correct habits, in these and in all other respects, in the preparatory course. The entire day is therefore occupied with a succession of engagements in household work and out-door labour, devotional exercises, meals, and instruction. Recreation is sought in change of employment. These changes afford such pleasure, and the sense of utility and duty is so constantly maintained, that recreation in the ordinary sense is not needed. Leisure from such occupations is never sought excepting to write a letter to a friend, or occasionally to visit some near relative. The pupils all present an air of cheerfulness. They proceed from one lesson to another, and to their several occupations, with an elasticity of mind which affords the best proof that the mental and physical effects of the training are auspicious.

In the early steps towards the formation of correct habits, it is necessary that (until the power of self-guidance is obtained) the pupil should be constantly under the eye of a master, not disposed to exercise authority so much as to give assistance and advice. Before the habit of self-direction is formed, it is therefore pernicious to leave much time at the disposal of the pupil. Proper

intellectual and moral aims must be inspired, and the pupil must attain a knowledge of the mode of employing his time with skill, usefully, and under the guidance of right motives, ere he can be properly left to the spontaneous suggestions of his own mind. Here, therefore, the moral and the intellectual training are in the closest harmony. The formation of correct habits, and the growth of right sentiments, ought to precede such confidence in the pupil's powers of self-direction as is implied in leaving him either much time unoccupied, or in which his labours are not under the immediate superintendence of his teacher.

In the preparatory course, therefore, the whole time is employed under superintendence, but towards the close of the course a gradual trial of the pupil's powers of self-guidance is commenced; first, by intrusting him with certain studies unassisted by the teacher. Those who zealously and successfully employ their time will, by degrees, be intrusted with a greater period for self-sustained intellectual or physical exertion. Further evidence of the existence of the proper qualities will lead to a more liberal confidence, until habits of application and the power of pursuing their studies successfully, and without assistance, are attained.

The subjects of the preparatory course were strictly rudimental. It will be found that the knowledge obtained in the elementary schools now in existence is a very meager preparation for the studies of a training school for teachers. Until the elementary schools are improved it will be found necessary to go to the very roots of all knowledge, and to re-arrange such knowledge as the pupils have attained, in harmony with the principles on which they must ultimately communicate it to others. Many of our pupils enter the school with the broadest provincial dialect, scarcely able to read with fluency and precision, much less with ease and expression. Some were ill-furnished with the commonest rules of arithmetic, and wrote clumsily and slowly.

They have been made acquainted with the *phonic* method of teaching to read practised in Germany. Their defects of pronunciation have been corrected to a large extent by the adoption of this method, and by means of deliberate and emphatic syllabic reading, in a well sustained and correct tone. The principles on which the *lout* or *phonic* method depends have been explained at considerable length as a part of the course of lessons on method which has been communicated to them, and they will commence the practice of this method in the village school as soon as the lesson-books now in course of printing are published.

We have deemed it of paramount importance that they should acquire a thorough knowledge of the elements and structure of the English language. The lessons in reading were in the first place made the means of leading them to an examination of the structure of sentences, and practical oral lessons were given on grammar and etymology according to the method pursued by Mr. Wood in the Edinburgh Sessional School. The results of these exercises were tested by the lessons of dictation and of composition which accompanied the early stages of this course, and by which a lively sense of the utility of a knowledge of grammatical construction and of the etymological relations of words was developed. As soon as this feeling was created, the oral instruction in grammar assumed a more positive form. The theory on which the rules were founded was explained, and the several laws when well understood were dictated in the least exceptionable formulæ, and were written out and committed to memory. In this way they proceeded through the whole of the theory and rules of grammar before they were intrusted with any book on the subject, lest they should depend for their knowledge on a mere effort of the memory to retain a formula not well understood.

At each stage of their advance, corresponding exercises were resorted to, in order to familiarise them with the application of the rules.

When they had in this way passed through the ordinary course of grammatical instruction, they were intrusted with books, to enable them to give the last degree of precision to their conceptions.

In etymology the lessons were in like manner practical and oral. They were first derived from the reading-lessons of the day, and applied to the exercises and examinations accompanying the course, and after a certain progress had been made, their further advance was insured by systematic lessons from books.

A course of reading in English literature, by which the taste may be refined by an acquaintance with the best models of style, and with those authors whose works have exercised the most beneficial influence on the mind of this nation, has necessarily been postponed to another part of the course. It, however, forms one of the most important elements in the conception of the objects to be attained in a training school, that the teacher should be inspired with a discriminating but earnest admiration for those gifts of great minds to English literature which are alike the property of the peasant and the peer; national treasures which are among the most legitimate sources of national feelings.

A thorough acquaintance with the English language can alone make the labouring class accessible to the best influence of English civilisation. Without this, lettered men will find it difficult, if not impossible, to teach the vulgar.

Those who have had close intercourse with the labouring classes well know with what difficulty they comprehend words not of a Saxon origin, and how frequently addresses to them are unintelligible from the continual use of terms of a Latin or Greek derivation; yet the daily language of the middle and upper classes abounds with such words; many of the formularies of our church are full of them, and hardly a sermon is preached which does not in every page contain numerous examples of their use. Phrases of this sort are so naturalised in the language of the educated classes, that entirely to omit them

has the appearance of pedantry and baldness, and even disgusts persons of taste and refinement. Therefore, in addressing a mixed congregation, it seems impossible to avoid using them, and the only mode of meeting the inconvenience alluded to is to instruct the humbler classes in their meaning. The method we have adopted for this purpose has been copied from that first introduced in the Edinburgh Sessional Schools; every compound word is analysed, and the separate meaning of each member pointed out, so that, at present, there are few words in the English language which our pupils cannot thoroughly comprehend, and from their acquaintance with the common roots and principles of etymology, the new compound terms, which the demands of civilisation are daily introducing, are almost immediately understood by them. We believe that there are few acquirements more conducive to clearness of thought, or that can be more usefully introduced into common schools, than a thorough knowledge of the English language, and that the absence of it gives power to the illiterate teacher and demagogue, and deprives the lettered man of his just influence.

Similar remarks might be extended to style. It is equally obvious that the educated use sentences of a construction presenting difficulties to the vulgar which are frequently almost insurmountable. It is, therefore, not only necessary that the meaning of words should be taught on a logical system in our elementary schools, but that the children should be made familiar with extracts from our best authors on subjects suited to their capacity. It cannot be permitted to remain the opprobrium of this country that its greatest minds have bequeathed their thoughts to the nation in a style at once pure and simple, but still inaccessible to the intelligence of the great body of the people.

In *writing*, they were trained, as soon as the various books could be prepared, according to the method of Mülhauser, which was translated and placed in the hands of the teachers for that purpose.

It is unnecessary to describe, in this place, a method of which the details will soon be accessible in the manual now printing.

It may be sufficient here to remark that both these methods are eminently synthetical. They depend for their success on the delicacy of the analysis which they put into the hands of the teacher, and by which they enable him to present the simplest elements of knowledge first, and then to proceed in a regularly graduated series to those combinations which, if presented in the first instance, would occasion the pupil much difficulty and consequent discouragement.

In like manner, in *arithmetic* it has been deemed desirable to put them in possession of the pre-eminently synthetical method of Pestalozzi. As soon as the requisite tables and series of lessons, analysed to the simplest elements, could be procured, the principles on which complex numerical combinations rest were rendered familiar to them, by leading the pupils through the earlier course of Pestalozzi's lessons on numbers, from simple unity to compound fractional quantities; connecting with them the series of exercises in mental arithmetic which they are so well calculated to introduce and to illustrate. The use of such a method dispels the gloom which might attend the most expert use of the common rules of arithmetic, and which commonly afford the pupil little light to guide his steps off the beaten path illuminated by the rule.

The analysis in the lessons of Pestalozzi is so minute as to inspire all minds, who have attained a certain knowledge of number by other means, with a doubt whether time may not be lost by tracing all the minute steps of the analytical series over which his lessons pass. The opposite practice of dogmatic teaching is so ruinous, however, to the intellectual habits, and so imperfect a means of developing the intelligence, that it ought, we think, at all expense of time, to be avoided. With this

conviction, the method of Pestalozzi has been diligently pursued.

Whilst these lessons have been in progress, the common rules of arithmetic have been examined by the light of this method. Their theory has been explained, and by constant practice the pupils have been led to acquire expertness in them, as well as to pursue the common principles on which they rest, and to ascertain the practical range within which each rule ought to be employed. The ordinary lessons on mental arithmetic have taken their place in the course of instruction separately from the peculiar rules which belong to Pestalozzi's series.

These lessons also prepared the pupils for proceeding at an early period in a similar manner with the elements of algebra, and with practical lessons in mensuration and land surveying.

These last subjects were considered of peculiar importance, as comprising one of the most useful industrial developments of a knowledge of the laws of number. Unless, in elementary schools, the instruction proceed beyond the knowledge of abstract rules, to their actual application to the practical necessities of life, the scholar will have little interest in his studies, because he will not perceive their importance, and, moreover, when he leaves the school, they will be of little use, because he has not learned to apply his knowledge to any purpose. On this account boys, who have been educated in common elementary schools, are frequently found, in a few years after they have left, to have forgotten the greater part even of the slender amount of knowledge they had acquired.

The use of arithmetic to the carpenter, the builder, the labourer, and artisan, ought to be developed by teaching mensuration and land surveying in elementary schools. If the scholars do not remain long enough to attain so high a range, the same principle should be applied to every step of their progress. The practical application of the simplest rules should be shown by familiar ex-

amples. As soon as the child can count, he should be made to count objects, such as money, the figures on the face of a clock, &c. When he can add, he should have before him shop-bills, accounts of the expenditure of earnings, accounts of wages. In every arithmetical rule similar useful exercises are a part of the art of a teacher, whose sincere desire is to fit his pupil for the application of his knowledge to the duties of life, the preparation for which should be always suggested to the pupil's mind as a powerful incentive to action. These future duties should be always placed in a cheering and hopeful point of view. The mere repetition of a table of numbers has less of education in it than a drill in the *balance-step*.

Practical instruction in the *book-keeping* necessary for the management of the household was for these reasons given to those who acted as stewards; accounts were kept of the seeds, manure, and garden produce, &c., as preparatory to a course of book-keeping, which will follow.

The¹ recently rapid development of the industry and

¹ It is somewhat remarkable that since this paragraph was written I should have received a letter from one of the principal Directors of a Railway Company, in which he informs me that the frequent occurrence of accidents had induced the Directors of the railway to make a careful examination into their causes. The Directors rose from this inquiry convinced that these accidents were, to a large extent, attributable to the ignorance of the men whom they had been obliged to employ as engineers, for the want of better; and to the low habits of these men, who, though they do not subject themselves to dismissal by such a defiance of regulations as to be found '*drunk*,' are in the habit of stupifying themselves with dram-drinking! The Directors of the Company had determined, that the proper remedy for these evils was to provide amusement and instruction for their men at night, and application has since been made to Mr. Tate, the tutor in mechanics, &c., in the Training School, to afford his assistance in delivering lectures on mechanics to the engineers, stokers, and other servants of the Company. A large room has been provided for these purposes, and it is understood to be the intention of the Company to draw their servants to this room by such amusements as may be more attractive than the tavern—to excite their attention to subjects of instruction appropriate to their duties by a series of popular lectures—and then to open classes, where they may learn mechanics and such of the elements of natural science as may be useful to them in their calling.

As a part of the amusements, application was made by one of the Directors to Mr. Hullah to open a class like those of the artisans of Paris, and to instruct them in singing on the method of Wilhem.—J. P. K. S.

commerce of this country by machinery creates a want for well-instructed mechanics, which in the present state of education it will be difficult adequately to supply. The steam-engines which drain our coal-fields and mineral veins and beds, which whirl along every railroad, which toil on the surface of every river, and issue from every estuary, are committed to the charge of men of some practical skill, but of mean education. The mental resources of the classes who are practically intrusted with the guidance of this great development of national power should not be left uncultivated. This new force has grown rapidly, in consequence of the genius of the people, and the natural resources of this island, and in spite of their ignorance. But our supremacy at sea, and our manufacturing and commercial prosperity (inseparable elements) depend on the successful progress of those arts by which our present position has been attained.

On this account we have deemed inseparable from the education of a schoolmaster a knowledge of the *elements of mechanics* and of the laws of heat, sufficient to enable him to explain the structure of the various kinds of steam-engines in use in this country. This instruction has proved one of the chief features even of the preparatory course, as we feared that some of the young men might leave the establishment as soon as they had obtained the certificates of candidates, and we were unwilling that they should go forth without some knowledge at least of one of the chief elements of our national prosperity, or altogether without power to make the working man acquainted with the great agent, which has had more influence on the destiny of the working classes than any other single fact in our history, and which is probably destined to work still greater changes.

Knowledge and national prosperity are here in strict alliance. Not only do the arts of peace—the success of our trade—our power to compete with foreign rivals—our safety on our railways and in our steam-ships—depend on the spread of this knowledge, but the future defence

of this country from foreign aggression can only result from our being superior to every nation in those arts. The schoolmaster is an agent despised at present, but whose importance for the attainment of this end will, by the results of a few years, be placed in bold relief before the public.

The tutor to whom the duty of communicating to the pupils a knowledge of the laws of motion, of the mechanical powers and contrivances, and of the laws of heat, was committed, was selected because he was a self-educated man, and was willing to avail himself of the more popular methods of demonstration, and to postpone the application of his valuable and extensive mathematical acquirements. By his assistance, the pupils and students have been led through a series of demonstrations of mechanical combinations, until they were prepared to consider the several parts of the steam-engine, first separately, and in their successive developments and applications, and they are at present acquainted with the more complex combinations in the steam-engines now in use, and with the principles involved in their construction and action.

In *geography* it has been deemed important that the tutors should proceed by a similar method. The lessons on land surveying have familiarised the pupils with the nature and uses of maps. As one development of the art of drawing, they have been practised in map-drawing. For this purpose, among other expedients, the walls of one class-room have been prepared with mastic, in order that bold projections of maps might be made on a great scale.

Physical geography has been deemed the true basis of all instruction in the geography of industry and commerce, which ought to form the chief subject of geographical instruction in elementary schools. The tutor has first endeavoured to convince the pupils that nothing which presents itself to the eye in a well-drawn map is to be regarded as accidental; the boldness of the promontories; the deep indenture of the bays; the general bearings of

the coast; are all referable to natural laws. In these respects the eastern and western coasts of England are in striking contrast, in appearance, character, and in the circumstances which occasion their peculiarities. The physical geography of England commences with a description of the elevation of the mountain ranges, the different levels, and the drainage of the country. The course, rapidity, and volume of the rivers are referable to the elevation and extent of the country which they drain. From the climate, levels, and drainage, with little further matter, the agricultural tracts of the country may be indicated; and when the great coal-fields and the mineral veins and beds, the depth of the bays and rivers, are known, the distribution of the population is found to be in strict relation to certain natural laws. Even the ancient political divisions of the country are, on inspection, found to be in close dependence on its drainage. The counties are river basins, which were the first seats of tribes of population. If any new political distribution were to be made, it would necessarily, in like manner, be affected by some natural law, which it is equally interesting and useful to trace.

Geography taught in this way is a constant exercise to the reasoning powers. The pupil is led to trace the mutual dependence of facts, which, in ordinary instruction, are taught as the words of a vocabulary. Geography taught in the ordinary way is as reasonable an acquisition as the catalogue of a museum, which a student might be compelled to learn as a substitute for natural history. A catalogue of towns, rivers, bays, promontories, &c., is even less geography than the well-arranged catalogue of a museum is natural history, because the classification has a logical meaning in the latter case, which is absent in the former.

The intelligent tutor should feel himself bound to acquire sufficient knowledge to explain to his pupil the mutual dependence of the facts which the map presents to the eye. Thus it is easy to explain why certain tracts are rich pastures, why others are arable; to account for the climate, productions, industry, and commerce of such

a county as Lancashire, and to read its history in the natural features of its hills, valleys, streams, coal-field, rivers, and western site. London, originally the outport to Europe, now the outport to the world, presents a great problem, equally instructing and useful to work, compared with which the facts of its being the capital of England, and situated on the Thames (ordinarily taught), are as the ciphers detached from a numerical power. Its tidal river carrying vessels into the heart of the land; its position in relation to the old Norman possessions of the conquerors of this country; its subsequent position between the commerce of Europe and the richest tracts of England; the facilities which it affords equally for commerce with the East and the West Indies; the resources it derives from the Northumberland and Durham coal-fields, without which its prosperity would suffer a grievous blow from the rivalry of other outports to which coal-beds are readily accessible: these, and a multitude of other considerations, too numerous to relate in this place, constitute that lesson in geography which the mention of London suggests. Its very place in the map is determined by natural laws of the most positive character, and capable of strict definition.

Every county in England and Scotland is treated inductively in this manner, and its productions, the distribution of its population, &c., are referred to the operation of the natural laws on which, in the beneficent providence of God towards our country, they are dependent.

In like manner, but in more general terms, the great streams of our commerce are described and accounted for. The colonies of England form the first step beyond this country, and beyond a general description of the world; and then follow those nations with which we have the most intimate commercial connexion.

This geography is examined in relation to the great commercial activity of England, and the influence of our industry on the Christian civilisation of the world.

In like manner, the great internal changes of the country

are accounted for. The spread of agriculture over previously barren tracts; the drainage of former marshes; the influence of the coal-fields in creating great vortices of trade, to which all the domestic manufactures are drawn; the laws affecting the importance of the respective out-ports, &c. &c.; are topics of important illustrations.

For the delivery of this course of instruction the present books and maps are found exceedingly defective. No good school-books on geography exist, and the maps at present in use are mere outlines, neglecting most of the great features of physical geography, which is the basis, first, of the geography of commerce and industry, and then (in a natural series) of that statistical and political geography which should form a prominent element of the instruction given in schools for the middle classes.

Maps are wanted, in which the elevation and drainage of the country should be faithfully delineated, giving the chief coal-fields and mineral veins and beds; containing the soundings of the coast and harbours, and the chief means of internal commercial communication, such as canals, railroads, &c. On this basis should be depicted in colour the great agricultural tracts, as distinguished by soils; and the seats of the chief manufactures. Along the coast the chief streams of commerce should be shown; the fisheries; and the comparative amount of tonnage entering every port. The use of a few symbols would convey much important information respecting our internal relations.

Geographies should be prepared adapted to the use of such maps both by the teacher and by his scholars.

If such maps and books had been in existence, the tutors of the Training School would have been spared much labour, and the progress of their pupils would have been both more rapid and more satisfactory.

As a department of geographical instruction, the elements of the use of the globes, in connection with nautical astronomy, has been cultivated with some diligence.

The further progress of the pupils in the geography of commerce and industry will be accelerated by the lectures which will now be delivered three days in the week by Mr. Hughes, one of the Professors of the College of Engineers, who has been appointed lecturer on this subject.

The outlines only of the history of England have been read, as preparatory to a course of instruction in English history, which is to form one of the studies of the second year. The history of England has been read in the evening as an exercise in the art of reading, and the examinations which have followed have been adapted only to secure general impressions as to the main facts of our history. In the second year's course it is hoped that this general knowledge will be found useful.

Skill in *drawing* was deemed essential to the success of a schoolmaster. Without this art he would be unable to avail himself of the important assistance of the black-board, on which his demonstrations of the objects of study ought to be delineated. His lessons on the most simple subjects would be wanting demonstrative power, and he would be incapable of proceeding with lessons in mechanics, without skill to delineate the machines of which his lessons treated.

The art of design has been little cultivated among the workmen of England. Whoever has been accustomed to see the plans of houses and farm buildings, or of public buildings of a humble character from the country, must know the extreme deficiency of our workmen in this application of the art of drawing, where it is closely connected with the comfort of domestic life, and is essential to the skilful performance of public works. The survey now in progress under the Tithe Commissioners affords abundant evidence of the want of skill in map-drawing among the rural surveyors.

The improvement of our machinery for agriculture and manufactures would be in no small degree facilitated, if

the art of drawing were a common acquirement among our artisans. Invention is checked by the want of skill in communicating the conception of the inventor, by drawings of all the details of his combination. In all those manufactures of which taste is a principal element, our neighbours, the French, are greatly our superiors, solely, we believe, because the eyes and the hands of all classes are practised from a very early age in the arts of design. In the elementary schools of Paris, the proficiency of the young pupils in drawing is very remarkable, and the evening schools are filled with young men and adults of mature or even advanced age, engaged in the diligent cultivation of this art. Last midsummer, in some of the evening schools of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, classes of workmen were questioned as to their employments. One was an *ébéniste*, another a founder, another a clock-maker, another a paper-hanger, another an upholsterer; and each was asked his hours of labour, and his motives for attendance. A single example may serve as a type. A man without his coat, whose muscular arms were bared by rolling his shirt-sleeves up to his shoulders, and who, though well washed and clean, wore the marks of toil on his white horny hands, was sitting with an admirable copy in crayon of *La Donna della Segiola* before him, which he had nearly completed. He was a man about 45 years of age. He said he had risen at five, and had been at work from six o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock in the evening, with brief intervals for meals; and he had entered the evening class at eight o'clock, to remain there till ten. He had pleasure, he said, in drawing, and that a knowledge of the art greatly improved his skill and taste in masonry. He turned round with a good-humoured smile, and added, he could live better on less wages than an Englishman, because his drawing cost him less than beer. Some thousand working men attend the adult schools every evening in Paris, and the drawing classes comprise great numbers whose skill would occasion much astonishment in this country. The most difficult engravings

of the paintings of the Italian masters are copied in crayon with remarkable skill and accuracy. Complex and exquisitely minute architectural details, such, for example, as perspective views of the Duomo at Milan, or the cathedrals at Rouen or Cologne, are drawn in pen and ink, with singular fidelity. Some were drawing from plaster casts and other models. We found such adult schools in many of the chief towns of France. These schools are the sources of the taste and skill in the decorative arts, and in all manufactures of which taste is a prominent element, and which have made the designs for the calico printers, the silk and ribbon looms, the papers, &c. &c., of France, so superior in taste to those of this country, notwithstanding the superiority of our manufactories in mechanical combinations.

These considerations lead us to account drawing an important department of elementary education. The manufacturers of Lancashire are well aware how difficult it is, from the neglect of the arts of design among the labourers of this country, to procure any skilled draftsmen to design for the cotton or silk manufacturer. The elevation of the national taste in art can only be procured by the constant cultivation of the mind in relation to the beautiful in form and colour, by familiarising the eye with the best models, the works of great artists, and beautiful natural objects. Skill in drawing from nature results from a careful progress through a well-analysed series of models. The interests of commerce are so intimately connected with the results to be obtained by this branch of elementary education, that there is little chance that it will much longer suffer the grievous neglect which it has hitherto experienced.

The drawing classes at Battersea were first exercised in very simple models, formed of oblong pieces of wood, arranged in a great variety of forms by the master, according to a method observed in the Swiss and German schools. These were drawn in common and in isometrical perspective, the laws of perspective being at the same time carefully explained, and the rules applied in each

case to the object which the pupil drew. A very little practice made us aware that a method comprising a more minute analysis of form was necessary to the greatest amount of success. Some inquiries which were pursued in Paris put us in possession of the method invented by M. Dupuis; and a series of his models were purchased and brought over at the close of the autumn, for the purpose of making a careful trial of this method. Considerable difficulty was experienced in procuring the services of an artist to superintend the instruction; but at length the application of this method has been commenced, and is in progress.

The experience of the French Inspectors of Schools (at an early period after the establishment of the system of inspection) convinced them that, to the perfection of *skill in drawing form*, the practice of drawing from models is necessary. The best copyists frequently, or rather generally, were found to fail in drawing even very simple natural objects on their first trials. In the drawing schools at Paris, in which the most elaborate engravings were admirably copied, an Inspector would discover that the pupils were unable to draw correctly the professor's desk and chair. It became, therefore, evident that the copy could not stand in the place of the natural object. Copying works of art might be essential to one department of skill and taste, but it by no means necessarily gave skill in drawing from nature.

M. Dupuis was an Inspector, and, observing this defect, he invented a series of models, ascending from a simple line of wire through various combinations to complex figures. These models are fixed in an instrument on the level of the eye, and may, by the movement of the instrument, be placed in a varying perspective. By this means the pupil may learn to draw the simplest objects, and proceed by gradual steps through a series of combinations of an almost insensibly increasing difficulty, until he can draw faithfully any object, however complex. The instrument which holds the object enables the teacher, by

varying its position, to give at each lesson a series of demonstrations in perspective, applying the rules to objects of a gradually increasing complexity, until they are understood in their relations to the most difficult combinations. Thus practical skill and theoretical knowledge are in harmony in this instruction. The taste may afterwards be cultivated by drawing those works of art best adapted to create a just sense of the beautiful in form and colour.

That which a workman first requires is mechanical skill in the art of drawing. Nature itself offers many opportunities to cultivate the taste insensibly; and skill can be acquired only by careful and prolonged practice in the art of drawing from nature. In the more advanced parts of the course, we shall be able to satisfy ourselves as to the best mode of using the skill acquired for the formation of the taste.

In the Normal Schools at Versailles, one year's instruction had sufficed to give the pupils a wonderful facility and skill in drawing from models. Some complicated pneumatic apparatus, consisting of glass, mahogany, brass, and in difficult perspective, was drawn rapidly, and with great truth and skill. It is not, however, our intention to carry the instruction of our pupils in this art further than is necessary for the industrial instruction of their future scholars.

Some of the reasons inducing us to attach much importance to the cultivation of *vocal music* have already been briefly indicated. We regarded it as a powerful auxiliary in rendering the devotional services of the household, of the parish church, and of the village school solemn and impressive. Our experience satisfies us that we by no means over-estimated this advantage, though all the results are not yet obtained which, we trust, will flow from the right use of these means.

Nor were we indifferent to the cheerfulness diffused in schools by the singing of those melodies which are attractive to children, nor unconscious of the moral power

which music has when linked with sentiments which it is the object of education to inspire. We regard school songs as an important means of diffusing a cheerful view of the duties of a labourer's life ; of diffusing joy and honest pride over English industry. Therefore, to neglect so powerful a moral agent in elementary education as vocal music would appear to be unpardonable. We availed ourselves of some arrangements which were at this time in progress, under the superintendence of the Committee of Council, for the introduction of the method of M. Wilhem, which has been singularly successful in France. It affords us great satisfaction to say how much advantage the pupils of the Training School have derived from the instruction they have received, during the development of this method, from Mr. Hullah, the gentleman selected by the Committee of Council to adapt the method of Wilhem, under their superintendence, to the tastes and habits of the English people. Mr. Hullah has devoted himself with unceasing assiduity and great skill to this important public duty ; and his pupils will always remember, with a pleasure without any alloy, the delightful lessons they have received from him.

The method of Wilhem is simply an application of the Pestalozzian method of ascending from the simple to the general through a clearly analysed series, in which every step of the progress is distinctly marked, and enables the pupil, without straining his faculties, to arrive at results which might otherwise have been difficult of attainment. Wilhem has not in any respect deviated from the well-ascertained results of experience, either in the theory of music or in the musical signs ; but he has with great skill arranged all the early lessons, so as to smooth the path of the student to the desirable result of being able to read music with ease, and to sing with skill and expression even difficult music at sight. The progress of the pupils at Battersea has been very gratifying, and, even in the brief period which has elapsed since the opening of the school, they sing music at sight with considerable facility.

They have received, on the average, only two lessons weekly, each of an hour's duration, and until lately have not been permitted to practise in the intervals, lest they should contract bad habits before their sense of time and tune had been cultivated. Of late, they have been permitted to practise daily for one hour. Their progress has necessarily been less rapid than it would have been had the entire method been previously arranged, as it now is, in a complete and logical series, as the result of Mr. Hullah's valuable labour. Much time has necessarily been expended in copying music, which will be spared to those who follow, and who, after Easter, 1841, will possess the volume and singing tablets published by the Committee of Council on Education.

Those who desire further proof of the importance of the method of Wilhem should visit the Normal School at Versailles, various day schools at Paris, and especially the great assemblages of the Working Classes, which occur almost every evening in Paris, for the purpose of receiving instruction in vocal music. The most remarkable of these probably is at the Halle-aux-Draps, where from 300 to 500 artisans are almost every evening instructed, from eight to nine o'clock, in vocal music. M. Hubert, a pupil of Wilhem, conducts this great assembly, by the method of mutual instruction, with singular skill and precision. We know scarcely anything more impressive than the swell of these manly voices when they unite in chorus.

If the music of Handel and Haydn were better known by the professors of music at Paris, assuredly this would be the place in which to display its most remarkable effects. Even in the singing of Wilhem's solfeggios in harmony, or of the scale in harmony, such a volume of sound was poured forth, that the effects were very impressive.

A method which has succeeded in attracting thousands of artisans in Paris from low cabarets and miserable gambling-houses to the study of a science, and the practice of a captivating art, deserves the attention of the public.

Mr. Hullah, in adapting the method of Wilhem to English tastes and habits, has both simplified and refined it. He has, moreover, adapted to it a considerable number of old English melodies of great richness and character, which were fast passing into oblivion, and which may be restored to the place they once held in the affections of the people, being now allied with words expressive of the joys and hopes of a labourer's life, and of the true sources of its dignity and happiness.

We have assisted in the development of this method, being convinced that it may tend to elevate the character of our elementary schools, and that it may be of great use throughout the country in restoring many of our best old English melodies to their popularity, and in improving the character of our vocal music in village churches, through the medium of the parochial schoolmaster and his pupils.

The pupils and students of the Training School now conduct the vocal music in the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden's church at Battersea, and, under Mr. Hullah's superintendence, they also manage the instruction of the village school in singing.

When the preparatory course was sufficiently advanced, a series of lectures on the construction and organisation of elementary schools, and on the theory and art of teaching, were commenced. They have resembled those given in the German and Swiss schools under the generic term *Pædagogik*.

They have treated of the general objects of education, and the means of attaining them. The peculiar aims of elementary education; the structure of school-houses in various parts of Europe; the internal arrangement of the desks, forms, and school apparatus, in reference to different methods of instruction; and the varieties of those methods observed in different countries. The theory of the discipline of schools. Its practice, describing in detail the different expedients resorted to in different countries for the purpose of procuring order, decorum, propriety of

posture and manner, regularity and precision in movements, and in changes of classes and exercises, and especially the right means of securing the reverence and the love of the children. This last subject naturally connects the consideration of the mechanical and methodic expedients with that of the sources of the schoolmaster's zeal, activity, and influence, on which much has been said. To these subjects have succeeded lectures on the great leading distinctions in the methods of communicating knowledge. When the distinguishing principles had been described, the characteristic features of the several methods were examined *generally*, and certain peculiar applications of each were treated. The application of these methods to each individual branch of instruction was then commenced, and this part of the course has treated of various methods of teaching to read, especially giving a minute description of the *phonic* method. Of methods of teaching to write, giving a special account of the method of Mülhauser. On the application of writing in various methods of instruction. Of methods of teaching to draw, giving a detailed account of that of M. Dupuis. Of methods of teaching arithmetic, in which the method of Pestalozzi has been carefully explained, and other expedients examined. This brief sketch may indicate the character of the instruction up to the period of this Report. Our desire is to anticipate as little as possible, but, on the contrary, to relate only what *has been done*. We have therefore only to add, that the instruction in Pædagogik is in its preparatory stage, and that the course will be pursued, in relation both to the general theory and practice, and to the special application of the theory and practice to the development of the village school, and of the training school, through the whole period of instruction, as that part of the studies of the pupils by which the mutual relations of these studies are revealed, and their future application anticipated.

We regard these lectures, combined with the zealous labour of the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden, as the chief means

by which, aided by the tutors, such a tone of feeling can be maintained as shall prepare the teachers to enter upon their important duties, actuated by motives which will be the best means of insuring their perseverance, and promoting their success.

The Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, who devote their lives a cheerful sacrifice to the education of the poorer classes of France, can be understood best by those who have visited their Noviciate and schools at Paris. From such persons we expect acquiescence when we say, that their example of Christian zeal is worthy of the imitation of protestants. Three of the Brothers of this order are maintained for a sum which is barely the stipend of one teacher of a school of mutual instruction in Paris. Their schools are unquestionably the best at Paris. Their manners are simple, affectionate, and sincere. The children are singularly attached to them. How could it be otherwise, when they perceive that these good men have no other reward on earth for their manifold labours than that of an approving conscience?

The *régime* of the *Noviciate* is one of considerable austerity. They rise at four. They spend an hour in private devotion, which is followed by two hours of religious exercises in their chapel. They breakfast soon afterwards, and are in the day schools of Paris at nine. They dine about noon, and continue their attention to the schools till five. They sup at six, and then many of them are employed in evening schools for the adults from seven till nine, or from eight to ten, when, after prayers, they immediately retire to rest.

No one can enter the schools of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine without feeling instinctively that he is witnessing a remarkable example of the development of Christian charity.

With such motives should the teachers of elementary schools, and especially those who are called to the arduous duties of training pauper children, go forth to their work. The path of the teacher is strewn with disappoint-

ments, if he commence with a mercenary spirit. It is full of encouragement, if he be inspired with the spirit of Christian charity. No skill can compensate adequately for the absence of a pervading religious influence on the character and conduct of the schoolmaster.

The discipline of the Training School has been gradually developed with this design ; and, under the faithful and judicious guidance of Mr. Eden, we trust, in the course of time, it may obtain some measure of success.

It is in this spirit that we have been anxious that the young pupils and students should, under the superintendence of Mr. Eden, and the immediate tuition of the master of the village school, undertake their duties in that scene of labour and instruction.

It is not our intention to say much on the arrangements which have been adopted in the Village School, which has been connected with the Training School only a few weeks. The first class of the Training School has been divided into two sections, one of which supplies pupil teachers to the Village School in the morning, and the other in the afternoon, each continuing their studies in the Training School at the periods not thus occupied.

The village school will, under the superintendence of Mr. Eden, be gradually developed as a school on the *mixed method* of instruction; but we cannot hope that anything like the precision in method which characterises the continental schools should be attained in it, excepting after prolonged and unremitting attention to all the details of its discipline and management.

Such attention continued through the course of the three years' instruction necessary to the certificate of Master, will, we trust, furnish the village school with such a class of educators as may enable it to realise the chief features of those schools which are most worthy of imitation in the Protestant countries of Europe; but before the expiration of the three years' course, we cannot hope it will be able to accomplish this design. At present, all that we feel warranted to say is, that we are very

sensible of the great difficulties which lie in the way of success, and that much humble and patient exertion will be required to surmount them. The able and zealous superintendence of Mr. Eden affords the village school a prospect of success which, under less vigilant and intelligent management, we should despair to attain.

We have secured for the village school the advantage of the services of Mr. M'Leod, recently the principal master of the School of Industry at Norwood. He is aware of the great difficulty of assimilating an elementary school in this country to some of those forms of excellence which we have afforded him an opportunity of examining in Holland. He is therefore prepared to endeavour, by gradual improvements, in the course of time, to render the elementary school a scene in which the pupils of the Training School may prepare themselves for the skilful performance of their future duties. The success of these efforts pre-supposes so much improvement in his assistant teachers and in the scholars, that we deem it prudent not to venture to anticipate results which it must be very difficult to attain.

The examination of the third quarter of the residence of several of our pupils is now just concluded.

The mode in which the daily examinations are conducted has already been described. During the depth of winter, when the out-door labour is necessarily suspended, the place which these examinations occupy in the daily routine may be ascertained by the inspection of the sub-joined Tables, pp. 362—3.

At the quarterly examination the usual routine is suspended, and examination-papers are prepared by the tutors, containing a series of questions, passing over the chief features of the studies of the quarter in each class.

The students and pupils have no intimation of the questions which will be proposed; but, three hours being allotted to each examination-paper, the questions of a particular subject (as for example grammar) are distributed to each pupil in the assembled class. The pupils then

attempt the solution of all the questions without the aid of books, and without assistance from the tutors, or from each other.

At the expiration of the three hours the replies to the questions are collected, and in the afternoon, a similar plan is pursued with some other subject, the examination-papers of which are distributed without any previous intimation of their nature.

DAILY ROUTINE.

Half-past 5 . . . Quarter to 6 . . . Quarter to 7 . . . Quarter-past 7 . . . Half-past 7 . . . Quarter-past 8 . . . Quarter to 9 . . .	Rise, wash, dress, and make beds. Household work, viz., scouring and sweeping floors, cleaning grates, shoes, knives, &c., pumping water and preparing vegetables, and milking cows. Reading of Scriptures and prayers. Superintendents present reports. Lecture on the theory and art of teaching, and on school discipline. Breakfast. The first division of the first class go to the village school.	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
9 to 10 . . . 10 to 11 . . . 11 to 12 . . .	(Second division, first class. Second class. Second division, first class. Second class. Second division, first class. Second class.)	E. P. on mensuration. Arithmetic. Drawing. Drawing. Writing on Mülhauser's method. Etymology.	E. P. on grammar and etymology. Algebra. Algebra or mensuration. Grammar. Practising arithmetic on Pestalozzi's tables. Mental arithmetic.	Examination Papers — E. P. on mechanics. Arithmetic. Drawing. Drawing. Writing on Mülhauser's method. Etymology.	E. P. on arithmetic. Mensuration. Algebra or mensuration. Grammar. Practising arithmetic on Pestalozzi's tables. Mental arithmetic.	E. P. on geography and globes. Arithmetic. Drawing. Drawing. Writing on Mülhauser's method. Etymology.	E. P. on problems. Algebra. Grammar. Grammar. Arithmetic. Mental arithmetic.
12 o'clock . . . 12 to 1 . . . " . . . Quarter-past 1 . . .	The first division of the first class return from village school. Garden-work, feed the animals, &c. At 1, march to the house and prepare for dinner. A class practising singing in the hall. Dinner.						

DAILY ROUTINE—continued.

Quarter to 2	The second division of the first class go to the village school.					
2 to 3	{ First division first class. Drill and gymnastic exercises in fair weather ; in rough weather a lesson on drawing.					
3 to 4	{ Second class. Drill and gymnastic exercises in fair weather ; in rough weather, reading.					
	First division, first class. Examination-papers.					
	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
3 to quarter to 4	Writing on Mül-hauser's method.	Use of the globes.	Writing on Mül-hauser's method.	Use of the globes	Writing on Mül-hauser's method.	Use of the globes.
4 to quarter to 5	Writing on Mül-hauser's method.	Practising arithmetic on Pestalozzi's method.	Writing on Mül-hauser's method.	Practising arithmetic on Pestalozzi's method	Writing on Mül-hauser's method.	Surveying.
	Second class.					
	First division, first class.					
Quarter to 4 to quarter to 5	Second class. Examination-papers.					
Quarter-past 4	The second division of the first class return from village school.					
Quarter to 5	Classes united. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, lectures upon the geography of commerce and industry. On Monday, and Thursday, writing out the notes of the lectures on Geography, preceded by an examination of a quarter of an hour's duration.					
Quarter-past 6	Supper.					
7 to 8	Classes united. Mechanics, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.					
8 to 9	Classes united. Biblical reading ; lesson on the manners and customs of the Jews, and on geography of Palestine, &c.					
9 o'clock	Prayer.					
20 min. past 9	Retire to rest.					
	SUNDAY.					
	One of the sermons of the day is written from memory.					
	In the evening these compositions are read and commented upon.					

In this way, in three or four days, all the subjects of instruction in the Training School are brought under minute examination.

As soon as the answers are collected, they are examined, and the relative merit of each reply is ascertained. A mean number having been attached to each question, the merit of the reply is expressed in numbers above or below this mean, and thus the whole results of the examination may be tabulated, and the intellectual progress of each pupil ascertained.

The following series of questions were issued at the examination of the third quarter, which expired at Christmas. We submit them to you, because we are desirous that you should form an accurate opinion of the results of the instruction in the Training School during the preparatory course. The questions faithfully represent the general course of the instruction on the subjects to which they relate, and they are level to the capacity and attainments of the pupils.

In order that this may be more clearly evident to you, we have appended to the series of questions Tables containing the name of each pupil, his age, and period of entrance into the Training School, at the head of the columns. On the left side of each Table a column contains the number of each question, and in the next column the mean number indicating the comparative difficulty of the question; then, under the name of each boy the merit of the answer of each pupil is given in successive columns, and in the same manner, the merit of the replies to each of the questions respectively is tabulated.

In order that you may possess a standard from which to determine the relative merit of the rest of the replies, we have likewise placed, in an Appendix, replies to the questions from most of the pupils, the comparative merit of which may be estimated by a reference to the numbers in the Tables.

The answers to the questions on religious instruction have not been deemed simply an intellectual exercise, and

the results in this case have not been tabulated. They were framed by the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden, who has superintended the religious instruction of the Training School with unwearied assiduity. We are enabled to furnish you with a note, expressive of Mr. Eden's opinion of the general progress of the pupils in religious knowledge, during the three quarters of the preparatory course which have now elapsed.

Before submitting the questions to you, we are anxious to avoid one source of misconception, to which the plan of the school might be liable in consequence of our reluctance to anticipate results, by describing the course we intend to pursue in the future parts of the course of instruction. The technical instruction in that knowledge which it will be the duty of the pupils to communicate in elementary schools, occupies a much greater portion of the time in the preparatory course than that which will be allotted to such studies in the two subsequent years.

Every month will now bring into greater prominence *instruction, theoretical and practical, in the art of teaching*. The outlines only of a future course of instruction in this most important element of the studies of a training school have been communicated. Some of the principles have been laid down; but the application of these principles to each subject of instruction, and the arrangement of the entire matter of technical knowledge, in accordance with the principles of elementary teaching, is a labour to which a large portion of the future time of the pupils must be devoted.

Those studies which will prepare them for the performance of collateral duties in the village or parish have not been commenced.

The instruction in the management of a garden; in pruning and grafting trees; in the relative qualities of soils, manures, and the rotation of garden crops, is to form a part of the course of instruction, after the certificate of candidate is obtained.

A course on the domestic economy of the poor will be

delivered in the same year, which will be followed by another on the means of preserving health, especially with regard to the employments, habits, and wants of the working classes. Some general lectures on the relations of labour and capital will close this course.

Those parts of the present course of technical instruction which will obtain the largest share of attention in the year in which the *candidates* are trained, will be the geography of commerce and industry; mensuration, land surveying, and mechanics; and the history of England, treated chiefly in connection with the progress of civilisation, and especially of industry and the arts.

The religious instruction will develope itself, under the guidance of Mr. Eden, in its relations to those subjects of history in which it is desirable that the pupils should receive impressions consistent with Christian charity and truth.

This brief indication of that which lies immediately before the pupils of the Training School will, we trust, remove any apprehension which might be entertained that the technical character of certain of their present studies will overlay a large portion of the future course.

The spontaneous preparation for instruction in the village school, and which will require considerable and well-directed application to miscellaneous reading, will in itself be an obstacle to the continuance of the present extent of technical instruction. This spontaneous preparation must embrace many subjects collateral to the instruction in the school, but which must be communicated in a popular manner in an elementary school, requiring a re-arrangement of knowledge previously acquired in a technical form.

The chief source of any confidence we have in the course we have pursued, is derived from the inquiries respecting the routine of instruction in Normal Schools in certain parts of the continent.

We have, for your information, placed in the Appendix to this Report several Tables of the routine of studies in some of the chief Normal Schools in different parts of

Europe. A comparison of these Tables with the general sketch of the plans of the Battersea Training School, with which we have furnished you, will enable you to perceive how far our personal inquiries have guided us in the regulation of the Training School, founded under your sanction.

We lay before you the questions of the third quarterly examination at Battersea, and the tabulated results of the replies. In the first of these Tables, viz., that on grammar and etymology, we have given the age and day of the month when each pupil entered the school in the year 1840. It has not been deemed necessary to reprint these Tables in this place.

The preceding notes contain a few examples of the manner in which the questions have been answered, one being selected for each question, which, in conjunction with the numerical statements contained in the Tables, may serve as a standard of comparison by which the merit of the rest of the replies may be ascertained. It is a source of pleasure to us that a Maltese, confided to our care by the Maltese Government, notwithstanding the obstacles created by the want of a perfect knowledge of the language, occupies such a position in this examination as to justify our confidence in his success as the Teacher of a Model School in Malta, which is his destination.

The questions and answers afford better evidence than anything which we can say of the intelligent and persevering attention which Mr. Tate and Mr. Horne have paid to their duties. They have earned the reward of the affection and respect of their pupils, and if our own tribute of esteem can add anything to the satisfaction derivable from that source it has been freely accorded.

We are somewhat apprehensive that these questions may lead to erroneous opinions of our views. We are fully aware that all such tests must give a very imperfect idea of the real condition of a school, and in fact, from being necessarily confined to intellectual displays, omit all

reference to what we have always considered to be the most essential, as it is the most difficult, object of our endeavours,—the formation of moral and religious characters. The progress that may have been made towards this latter object is incapable, as in the former, of being shown by written questions. We can only then solicit credit for our intentions in repeating with all earnestness, that we hold the end of all these intellectual demonstrations to be infinitely subordinate to the cultivation of the heart and feelings. We have no wish to send forth simply clever teachers; we believe, on the contrary, that the vice of several of the German Normal Institutions, which we have examined, has been the too great attention paid to instruction as distinct from education. The Swiss schools appeared to us to be mostly free from this defect, and to them we have chiefly resorted as models for what we have done.

It may also be objected to these questions, that some of them refer to subjects different from or beyond what it may be desirable or possible to teach in many schools. We admit the correctness of this statement, but deny the inference that some may attempt to draw from it derogatory to the utility of such studies for the purpose we have in view. The schoolmaster whose knowledge is strictly confined to what he has to impart, will frequently be at a loss, in attempting to explain many points that occur in his lessons, and puzzled with questions from the more intelligent pupils, whose unsatisfied inquiries will quickly generate a disrespect for their instructor. It is impossible to know or to teach many of even the lowest branches of knowledge thoroughly without some acquaintance with the theories and higher generalizations on which those inferior departments depend. But on this point we would refer to a higher authority, M. Guizot, with whose opinion on this subject, as well as in the following description of what a teacher ought to be, we beg to add our unqualified concurrence :—“ A good schoolmaster ought to be a man who knows much more than he is called upon to

teach, that he may teach with intelligence and with taste ; who is to live in a humble sphere, and yet to have a noble and elevated mind, that he may preserve that dignity of sentiment and of deportment, without which he will never obtain the respect and confidence of families ; who possesses a rare mixture of gentleness and firmness ; for, inferior though he be in station to many individuals in the parish, he ought to be the obsequious servant of none ; a man not ignorant of his rights, but thinking much more of his duties ; showing to all a good example, and serving to all as a counsellor ; not given to change his condition, but satisfied with his situation, because it gives him the power of doing good ; and who has made up his mind to live and to die in the service of primary instruction, which to him is the service of God and his fellow-creatures. To rear masters approaching to such a model is a difficult task ; and yet we must succeed in it, or else we have done nothing for elementary instruction."

The questions for this quarterly examination have been chiefly selected by the tutors. We do not propose that this course shall be pursued in the questions employed in the examination for the certificate of *Candidate*, or *Scholar*, or *Master*. We are of opinion that such institutions as this Training School (the further management of which we hope to superintend in entire subordination to your wishes) should be placed under the inspection of that department of the executive Government which is charged with the promotion of elementary education. The humble effort which we have made to place in your hands the means of providing schoolmasters for the workhouses, and especially for the district schools for pauper children, has not, we trust, been conducted inconsistently with the public interest ; but we are anxious to afford the public the fullest warrant for confidence in the future management of this school, and we know no way of accomplishing this object so fully as by soliciting the periodical examination of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, which we

trust the Committee of Council on Education will allow. In the *quarterly examinations* of the Training School we hope for the assistance of one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, and we trust that, upon application from you, the Committee of Council will consent to associate one or more of their Inspectors with one of your own body, in selecting the questions for the *annual examination*, by which the certificates will be awarded; in determining the merit of the several replies; and in selecting the individuals who may be entitled to certificates.

In order that the selection of questions may have the necessary relation to the studies of the year, we propose to furnish the *examiners* with the weekly and quarterly examination-papers of the school, from which papers they will readily ascertain the range of the acquirements of the pupils in the several classes; but it will be expedient that every question shall emanate only from the examiners at the annual examination for certificates.

We are desirous that some standard of attainment should be fixed for entrance upon the preparatory course, and we wish to refer the examination-papers (employed to ascertain the acquirements of the pupils on their entrance) to the approval of the Committee of Council on Education; and that the replies, being prepared by pupils under the eye of an Inspector, at the end of a short probationary period, should be approved by their Lordships before each pupil is finally entered for the preparatory course on the books of the school.

We trust that, in this way, security will be afforded that any funds which may be devoted to the maintenance of this Training School will not be applied in any way inconsistently with the interests of the public.

We regard these securities to be indispensable to the permanent prosperity of such institutions. By the examination of the pupils at their entrance, and the submission of the examination-papers (prepared in the presence of an Inspector at the end of a short probationary period),

we intend to exclude favouritism in the selection of pupils, and the interference of partial interests in burdening the school with unqualified students.

By the continual inspection of the school by able, independent, and impartial men, we hope to secure the most useful stimulus to the exertions of the tutors and pupils; to provide against self-deception on their part as to the condition of the school; and, above all, to afford the public the only sufficient security against the impression derived from appearances skilfully dramatised to prevent the disclosure of defects.

We are especially anxious that the certificates should be awarded by persons not directly interested in the management of the school, in order that a conviction of impartiality may prevail among the scholars, that the certificates may have more than the ordinary value of such documents, and that the public may have only a legitimate, and in all respects a well-founded, confidence in the results of the training.

We should much rejoice if the results of these preparatory steps towards the foundation of a training school were deemed sufficiently auspicious to warrant the confidence of the Commission and of the Government, so far as to procure for the future expenses of the school assistance from the public funds. In that case we feel that the Government would be entitled to require that no tutor or professor should be appointed in the school without their approval; that their sanction should be necessary to the dismissal of any tutor or professor; and further that, on the Report of their Inspectors, they should be entitled to proceed to remove any tutor or professor from his office.

We are also of opinion that the Training School would not be entitled to support, in any considerable degree, from the public funds, unless the estimates for the school were annually submitted for the approval of the Committee of Council on Education, and the accounts annually audited by one of their Lordships' Inspectors.

The expenses of the Training School during the preparatory course have been cheerfully borne by ourselves, with the exception of those payments which have been made on behalf of individual pupils and students, and the entirely unsolicited aid of three or four of our personal friends. We have not presumed to think that we were warranted in expecting confidence in plans which had not hitherto been put forth in this country, until we could place before you at least a partial development of our views. We have, therefore, avoided soliciting assistance from any one, and, to all inquiries on this subject, we have deemed it proper to suggest, that the personal confidence of friends would not insure the permanent prosperity of a training school, which could only flourish by deserving and obtaining the confidence of the public. Such remarks have not prevented Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd and Mr. George Cornwall Lewis from urging us to permit them to contribute each £100 to the expenses of this year. We have accepted these offers. The Bishop of Durham has not been content with the usual payment for the pupil he has placed in the Training School, but his Lordship has requested us to accept a more liberal rate of remuneration. Mr. George Norman, of Bromley, has also sustained the charge of a pupil, whom, however, he has not selected. The Earl of Chichester added £10 to the sum paid with a boy whom he recommended.

The efficiency of the school during the course of instruction in the ensuing year can only be maintained by a considerable increase of expense. The number of the pupils and students will probably increase to sixty in the early part of the spring. The attention of the tutors will necessarily be so much occupied with the preparatory studies of those who then enter the school that an additional tutor will be indispensable. Certain of the courses of instruction of this year cannot be pursued without the assistance of professors who will attend from day to day. We have already secured the attendance of Mr. Hughes, who lectures on the geography of commerce and industry,

and of an artist to assist in the instruction in drawing and perspective. We regret to say that Mr. Hullah's services have been given gratuitously, and with a zeal and disinterestedness which would, we fear, place it beyond our power adequately to express the value which we attach to his admirable lessons on vocal music. We have further incurred a part of the charge of the master of the village school. We propose to appoint a well-conducted, intelligent, and skilful gardener to superintend the instruction in horticulture, which will now receive increased attention. The charge for the rent may soon increase by our encountering the necessity of occupying the entire house, with the exception of two apartments, which we each intend to reserve in the establishment, where we may confer with the tutors. The further expenses of furniture required by the increase of the number of pupils and tutors, the additional books, apparatus, and certain contemplated alterations which it will be impossible to postpone beyond the spring, will raise the expenses of the ensuing year (after all the payments for individual scholars are deducted) to a balance of £2000 at least.

We are prepared to sustain this expense, if it be necessary that the Training School should be carried through another stage of its development before it deserves the public confidence. In fact we consider ourselves bound to do so should we obtain no assistance, as we have entered into engagements with the pupils, which we must fulfil at whatever cost to ourselves. Considerable inquiry and observation have impressed us with the views on which the Training School is founded, and we have been desirous to make a practical trial of the principles and expedients which the experience of the Protestant States of Europe has sanctioned by a concurrent testimony. It would be grateful to us to receive an early assurance of confidence in the plans and principles which we have, with as much unreserve as is consistent with the limits of this Report, freely set before you; but we have not entered on our present undertaking without expecting that a sacrifice

would be required of us, before the work was in a condition to obtain that confidence which we trust will not be refused.

We also trust that the exposition of the principles by which we have been guided will not be misconceived, as evincing so unwarrantable a confidence in our opinions as to lead us to indulge in dogmatism. We conceive we may sincerely entertain them, and endeavour to promote their diffusion, without any undue confidence in our own judgment, or want of respect for the opinions of others.

You will naturally expect that this free disclosure of our views and proceedings in relation to the Training School should be terminated by an account of the expenses we have incurred to the termination of the year 1840. We think it right to lay the balance-sheet of the expenses and receipts of the school, without reserve, before you. We have been careful to take receipts for all the payments we have made, and as we regard ourselves as labouring at the foundations of a public institution, in which our experience may be of some value to others, we shall feel obliged if you will direct the accounts to be audited.

We have endeavoured, by a scrupulous economy in every department, to render the expenses of the school as low as is consistent with its efficiency, and we have accordingly foregone many convenient arrangements not absolutely required, but which it would have been desirable to make.

Some expenses might have been reduced, had not the demands of our public duties rendered it impossible to give constant superintendence to certain details.

JAMES PHILLIPS KAY and EDWARD CARLETON TUFFNELL in account with the Training School, Battersea.

Dra.		31st December, 1840.		Cra.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Cash from G. W. Norman, Esq..	25 0 0	By furnishing and repairs	446 6 11		
" Lord Chichester	10 0 0	Clothing	91 12 1		
" A. Jones Loyd, Esq..	100 0 0	Books, stationery, &c.	76 15 7		
" G. C. Lewis, Esq.	100 0 0	House account, viz., provisions,			
" Landlord repairs	200 0 0	wages, and petty cash ac-			
"	80 0 0	count.	564 7 4		
" Sundries sold	14 13 3	House account, viz., servants'			
" Mr. Philbrick	14 0 0	wages	17 1 1		
" for Students and Pupils	271 14 2	Garden account	34 4 0		
Amount owing for ditto ditto	196 19 4	Rent and taxes (deducting Dr.			
Balance	1963 11 10	Kay's rent)	108 5 6		
		Alterations and repairs (deduct-			
		ing Dr. Kay's charge)	240 6 4		
		Bad bank notes	5 0 0		
		Salaries	154 9 2		
		Mr. Senf	70 0 0		
		Bills unpaid	243 19 8		
		Salaries due	20 10 10		
	3245 10 7		2263 12 7		

The balance of expenses for which we find we have to provide on the 1st January, 1841, is £1283, which we have accordingly devoted to the establishment of this school. This sum arises to a large extent from the expenses incurred in furnishing, repairs, and alterations. The rest is attributable to salaries and the charge of clothing and maintaining the boys selected from the best schools for poor children, and educated at our expense.

The expenses of Dr. Kay's own private establishment are of course all borne by himself, and his arrangements are in all respects separate.

**We have the honour to be,
Gentlemen.**

Your obedient servants.

JAMES PHILLIPS KAY.

EDWARD CARLETON TUFFNELL.

To the Poor Law Commissioners, Somerset House.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION pursued in th

1st Class and 1st School-year.		Religion and Morals.	German Language.	French Language.	Arithmetic.	Geometry.	History.
1st Half-year.		Geography of Palestine, Jewish Archaeology. History of the Christian Church.	Grammar, exercises in reading and recitations; composition.	Exercises in reading, and translation of easy pieces of French into German; introduction to the grammar and etymology.	Elementary rules of arithmetic; Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.	The doctrine of parallel lines, properties of triangles, similar triangles.	History from the beginning of the world to the subjection of Greece to the Romans.
2nd Half-year.		Faith and morals, as founded on revelation.	Grammar, continuation of exercises in reading and recitations, composition of letters, and speeches.	Continuation of the above; beginning of the translation of German into French; grammar; vocabulary.	Proportions; mental arithmetic.	Measurement of triangles, and straight line figures, planimetry.	From the building of Rome to the Westphalian Peace.
2nd Class and 2nd School-year.		Lectures on the Bible, with questions.	Etymology and logical exercises, recitations, and composition.	Continued exercises of reading and translation into German; grammar; syntax; translation from German into French; speaking.	Continuation of exercises in the elementary rules.	Further exposition of the properties of triangles, and of straight line figures.	History of Switzerland from the beginning to the Westphalian Peace.
1st Half-year.		Lectures on the Bible, with practical illustrations, and references.	Repetitions of the more difficult parts of grammar; more extended compositions; laws of poetry.	Continuation of exercises in reading and translation; conclusion of syntax; recitations of easy pieces.	Continuation of exercises in Proportion; Simple Equations.	The circle; elements of stereometry; easy questions in practical geometry.	History of Switzerland as it bears on that of the rest of the world to the present period.
2nd Half-year.		Deeper and more abstract points of doctrine, with Scriptural proofs and practical illustrations.	The more important peculiarities of the German language: verbal expositions of the written exercises.	Further expositions of grammar; more difficult translations from and into French and German respectively; composition.	More difficult applications of the preceding rules.	Continuation of planimetry; plain and solid angles; projection of straight line figures; questions in the above subjects.	General history from 1300 to 1815.
3rd Class and 3rd School-year.		Continuation of the above.	View of German literature; poetical exercises.	Continuation of the above; short sketch of French literature.	Quadratic and Cubic Equations; Logarithms, Properties of Numbers; Progression.	Polygonal figures; elements of trigonometry; practical geometry; projection of bodies with straight or curved surfaces; sections.	General history from 1815 to the present time.

Normal Seminary at Zurich, Switzerland.

Geography.	Natural History.	Physics.	Singing.	Art of Writing.	Drawing.	Art of Teaching.
Introductory explanations of the ocean and continents, with their respective divisions.	General introduction to natural history, description of elementary bodies, general characteristics of minerals.	---	Elementary exercises of the voice; easy choral exercises.	Exercises in German and Roman character, in legal writing, and in black letter writing, music, and stenography.	Sketches from objects placed before the pupil, and from nature; special exercises in shading.	---
Special geography of Europe.	Unmetalliferous minerals, metals, mountains, introduction of botany.	---	Melody, religious hymns and choral singing.			---
The most important points of mathematical and physical geography.	Systems of botany, description of plants, special information on the plants known to the pupils.	The common phenomena arising from the various properties of differently constituted bodies.	Further exercises in Sol-Fa, also with words, exercises in solo singing and choral singing.			Introduction to psychology, methods of instruction.
Geography of Asia, Africa, America, and Australia.	Introduction to zoology; classification and descriptions introductory to the natural history of man.	Acoustics, optics, heat, magnetism, electricity.	Continuation of the above, special exposition of the art of teaching music.			Further exposition of methods of instruction, and of the cantonal laws and regulations relative to schools; practical teaching in the primary school.
More extended expositions of mathematical and physical geography.	Natural history of man; further expositions of the natural history of the lower animals.	Further exposition of the above subjects.	Continuation of the above.			Fundamental principles of the science of teaching.
Special geography of Asia, Africa, America, and Australia.	Introduction to zoology; fossils.	Further exposition of the above subjects.	Continuation of the above.			Practical teaching in the secondary school.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION PURSUED IN THE TWO CLASSES AT THE NORMAL SEMINARY, CARLSRUHE, IN THE SUMMER HALF-YEAR OF 1839.

Hours.	Classes.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
7 to 8 .	First .	New Testament.	Old Testament.	Geometry.	New Testament.	Old Testament.	New Testament.
8 to 9 .	Second .	New Testament.	Old Testament.	Catechism.	New Testament.	Old Testament.	New Testament.
9 to 10 .	First .	Singing.	Geography.	Organ.	Geography.	Singing.	Natural history.
10 to 11 .	Second .	Profane history.	Organ.	Singing.	Organ.	Geography.	Organ.
11 to 12 .	First .	Arithmetic.	Composition.	Singing.	Singing.	Arithmetic.	Composition.
	Second .	Grammar.	Singing.	Geography.	Grammar.	Singing.	Organ.
	First .	Singing.	Grammar.	Singing.	Profane history.	Grammar.	Grammar.
	Second .	Singing and organ.	Geometry.	Grammar.	Organ.	Organ.	Arithmetic.
	First .	Natural history.	Organ.	Natural history.	Natural history.	Natural philoso- phy.	Natural history.
	Second .		Natural Philoso- phy.	Singing.		phy.	Singing.
2 to 3 .	First .	Writing.	Agriculture.	.	Writing.	Agriculture.	Organ.
	Second .	Drawing.	Arithmetic.	.	Drawing.	Arithmetic.	Art of teaching deaf and dumb.
3 to 4 .	First .	Drawing.	Geometry.	.	Drawing.	Geometry.	Composition.
	Second .	Writing.	Historical com- position.	.	Writing.	Composition.	.
4 to 5 .	First .	Geometry.	Organ.	.	Organ.	Geometry.	Singing.
	Second .	Organ.	Historical com- position.	.	Piano and organ.	Geometry.	Singing.
5 to 6 .	First .	Piano and organ.	Organ.	.	Piano and organ.	Organ.	.
	Second .	.	.	.	Piano and organ.	Organ.	.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE NORMAL SCHOOL OF THE CANTON OF VAND, AT LAUSANNE, DURING THE WINTER OF 1838—1839.

Hour.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
8	Prayer, reading, and religious instruction (all).	As on Monday.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
9	The art of teaching (II).	General history (all).	The art of teaching (all).	Use of globes, first and second classes.	Swiss history (all).	Instruction in law and in the duties of a citizen, 1, 2, 3.
10	Geometry, 1, 2. The means of improving the health and condition of the people.	Arithmetic, 1, 2. Theme, 3.	Theme, 1, 2. Arithmetic, 3.	Composition, 1, 2. Mental arithmetic, 3.	Arithmetic, 1. Theme, 3.	Theme, 1, 2. Arithmetic, 3.
11	Botany, 1, 2.	Writing, 1, 2, 3.	Chemistry, then Zoology, 1, 2, 3.	Chemistry, then Zoology, 1, 2, 3.	Writing, 1, 2, 3.	Chemistry, &c., 1, 2, 3.
1	.	.	.	.	Exercises on the physical sciences, 1, 2.	Writing, 3.
2	Grammar, 1, 2, 3.	Drawing, 1, 2; reading 3.	Grammar, 1, 2, 3.	Drawing, 3; mental arithmetic, 1, 2.	Geometry, 3.	Geometry, 1, 2.
3	Gymnastics, 1, 2.	Drawing, 1, 2.	Gymnastics, 3.	Drawing, 3; reading, 1, 2.	Compositional exercises in mathematics, 1, 2.	.
4	Geography, 3.	Geography, 1, 2.	Book-keeping, 1. Reading, 1, 2. Geometry, 3.	Reading, 3.	Swiss geography, 1, 2, 3.	.
5	.	Geography, 3.	Singing, 1, 2, 3.	Geography, 1, 2. Singing, 1, 2.	Singing, 1, 2, 3.	.
7	.	Singing, 3.	.	.	.	.

N.B.—The figures denote the different classes. The figure 1 being attached to the most advanced class.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION in the Normal School of the Canton of Vaud, at Lausanne, in the Summer of 1938.

HOURS.	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
5	.	Book-keeping (teachers). [*] Writing (pupils). [†] As on Monday.	Geography (teachers).	Geography (teachers). Writing (pupils).	.	On the method of writing (teachers).
6	Prayer, Reading, and religious instruction.		As on Monday.	As on Monday.	As on Monday.	As on Monday.
7	Composition (older pupils). Arithmetic (younger pupils).	Arithmetic (teachers). A theme (pupils).	Composition (teachers). Geometry (pupils).	Arithmetic (teachers). A theme (pupils).	Composition (teachers). Geometry (pupils).	Arithmetic (teachers). Composition (young pupils).
8						
9	The Art of teaching (all).	Use of the globes (all).	Art of teaching (all).	Instruction in the law and duties of a citizen (all).	Art of teaching (all).	Instruction in the law and in the duties of a citizen (all).
10	Geography (teachers). Mental arithmetic (pupils).	Grammar (teachers). Geography (pupils).	Geometry (teachers). Grammar (pupils).	Reading, with analysis of the grammar, structure, and meaning (all). Natural history (all).	Grammar (teachers). Geography (pupils).	Geometry (teachers). Grammar (pupils).
11	Natural history (all).	Physics (pupils).	Natural history (all).		Pedagogical exercises on the physical sciences (pupils).	Reading (teachers). Arithmetic (older pupils).
2	A theme (teachers).	Drawing (teachers). Composition (young pupils).	A theme (teachers).	Drawing (pupils).	.	.
3	Gymnastics (pupils).	Drawing (teachers). Composition (young pupils).	Geography of Switzerland (teachers).	Drawing (pupils).	Gymnastics (pupils).	.
4	Reading (pupils).	Reading (all).	Singing (teachers). Arithmetic (pupils).	Reading (all).	Singing (teachers). Arithmetic (pupils).	Practical geometry (pupils).
5	Mental Arithmetic (teachers).	Singing (all).	Singing (pupils).	Singing (all).	Singing (pupils).	.

^{*} Teachers are masters of elementary schools in attendance on the Normal School.

[†] Pupils are young men who have not had charge of elementary schools, but who are preparing for the duties of schoolmasters.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION PURSUED IN THE TWO CLASSES AT THE NORMAL SEMINARY IN EISELEBEN, PRUSSIA, IN THE SUMMER HALF-YEAR OF 1839.

Hours.	Classes.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
7 to 8 . . . {	First . .	Religious in- struction.	Religious in- struction.	Art of teaching.	Religious in- struction.	Religious in- struction.	Religious in- struction.
	Second . .	Religious in- struction.	Profane history.	Logic.	Religious in- struction.	Profane history.	Logic or sacred history.
8 to 9 . . . {	First . .	Profane history.	Logic.	Geography.	Profane history.	Logic or Prussian history.	Geography.
	Second . .	Arithmetic.	Thorough bass and organ.	Geometry.	Grammar.	Arithmetic.	Geometry.
9 to 10 . . . {	First . .	Reading.	Organ.	Thorough bass and organ.	Art of teaching.	Reading.	Arithmetic.
	Second . .	Thorough bass and organ.	Religious in- struction.	Drawing.	Writing.	Religious in- struction.	Thorough bass and organ.
10 to 11 . . . {	First . .	Arithmetic.	Grammar.	Violin.	Arithmetic.	Grammar.	Organ.
	Second . .	Grammar.	Singing.	Drawing.	Thorough bass and organ.	Singing.	Writing
1 to 2 . . . {	First . .	Art of teaching.	Natural philoso- phy.	. . .	Examination.	Natural History.	. . .
	Second . .	Natural philoso- phy.	Reading.	. . .	Natural philoso- phy.	Reading.	. . .
2 to 3 . . . {	First . .	Geometry.	Drawing.	. . .	Geometry.	Writing.	. . .
	Second . .	Composition.	Geography.	. . .	Composition.	Geography.	. . .
3 to 4 . . . {	First . .	Thorough bass	Drawing.	. . .	Violin.	Writing.	. . .
	Second . .	. . .	Violin.	. . .	. . .	Violin.	. . .
4 to 5 . . . {	First . .	Organ.	. . .	. . .	Organ.	. . .	. . .

NOTE.—Three hours of singing, and one hour of instruction in the art of teaching, are also weekly given at indeterminate times.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION PURSUED BY THE TWO CLASSES AT THE NORMAL SEMINARY AT SCHLUCHTERN, HESSE CASSEL.

HOURS.	CLASSES.	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
7 to 8	First . .	Attend school.	Attend school.	Attend school.	Attend school.	Attend school.	Attend school.
8 to 9	Second . .	Life of Christ.	Life of Christ.	Catechism.	Life of Christ.	Life of Christ.	Catechism.
	First . .	Catechism.	Catechism.	Art of questioning.	Catechism.	Catechism.	Art of questioning.
	Second . .	Bible explanations.	Bible explanations.	Arithmetic.	Bible explanations.	Arithmetic.	Arithmetic.
9 to 10	First . .	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.
	Second . .	Composition.	Thorough bass.	Geography.	Composition.	Singing.	Geography.
10 to 11	First . .	Natural philosophy.	Arithmetic.	Catechetical exercises.	Natural philosophy.	Composition.	Arithmetic.
	Second . .	Reading.	Grammar.	Geometry.	Grammar.	Geometry.	Grammar.
11 to 12	First . .	{ Singing.	Violin.	{ Thorough bass.	{ Singing.	Violin.	{ Singing.
	Second . .	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.	Attend school, or practise organ.
1 to 2	First . .	Piano.	Drawing.	Botany.	Piano.	Drawing.	Botany.
	Second . .	Botany.	Art of teaching writing.	Attend school.	Botany.	Attend school.	Geography.
2 to 3	First . .	Piano.	Piano.	Biblical history.	Piano.	Piano.	Singing.
	Second . .	Reading and explanation of German classics.	German history.	Geography.	Reading and explanation of German classics.	German history.	. . .
3 to 4	First . .	Piano.	Piano.	Reading.	Piano.	Piano.	. . .
	Second . .	Religious instruction.	Art of teaching.	{ Botanical exercises.	Religious instruction.	Art of teaching.	{ Open air exercises.
5 to 6	First . .	{ Open air exercises.	Open air exercises.		Open air exercises.	Open air exercises.	
6 to 7	Second . .						

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION PURSUED IN THE TWO CLASSES AT THE FLETCHER NORMAL SEMINARY IN DRESDEN. The course is of four years' duration, fresh pupils being received and departing every two years. Those that come in the fifth half-year would be placed in the second class of the following scheme, and at the end of the eighth half-year in the first class. Those entering in the first half-year would be in the second class till the fifth half-year.

Subjects of Instruction.	1st Half-year.	2d Half-year.	3d Half-year.	4th Half-year.	5th Half-year.	6th Half-year.	7th Half-year.	8th Half-year.
1. Biblical Knowledge . . .	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.	1st class. 4 h.
2. Biblical History . . .	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.
3. Bible Explanations . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4. Catechism . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Art of Questioning . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6. Catechetical Exercises . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. Exercises in Thinking . . .	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.
8. Psychology and Art of Teaching . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9. School Discipline . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10. General History . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11. German and Saxon History . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12. Latin . . .	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.
13. Composition . . .	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.
14. Arithmetic . . .	4 h.	4 h.	4 h.	4 h.	4 h.	4 h.	4 h.	4 h.
15. Geography . . .	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.
16. Natural Philosophy . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17. Writing . . .	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.
18. Viola . . .	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.
19. Singing . . .	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.
20. History of the Church . . .	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.	common to both.
21. Geometry . . .	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.	3 h.
22. Grammar . . .	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.
23. Reading . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24. Natural History . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25. Drawing . . .	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.
26. Thorough Bass . . .	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.	2 h.
27. Organ . . .	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.
28. Piano . . .	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.	1 h.

NOTE.—h. stands for the hours devoted to each subject of instruction during the week.

Courses of Instruction pursued in the Three Classes at the Normal Seminary, Exalngen, Wurttemberg, in the Summer half-year of 1899.

Hour.	Class.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
6 to 7	{ First. Second Third	Arithmetic. Methods of instruction.	Art of questioning. Arithmetic. Religious instruction.	Geometry. Religious instruction. Attend model school. Profane history. Piano or arithmetic.	Art of questioning. Religious instruction. Attend model school. Natural history. Piano or geometry.	Arithmetic. Religious instruction. Attend model school. Geography. Piano or arithmetic.	Methods of instruction. Arithmetic. Attend model school. Profane history. Piano or geometry.
8 to 9	{ First. Second Third	Geography. Piano or arithmetic. Methods of instruction.	Natural history. Piano or geometry. Grammar. Religious instruction.	Profane history. Piano or arithmetic. Composition. Religious instruction. Composition.	Natural history. Piano or geometry. Grammar. Religious instruction. Composition.	Geography. Piano or arithmetic. Composition. Religious instruction. Grammar.	Grammar. Geometry. Grammar. Examinations. Examinations.
9 to 10	{ First. Second Third	Geometry. Grammar. Thorough bass.	Religious instruction. Grammar. Geography.	Composition. Thorough bass. Composition.	Grammar. Religious instruction. Composition. Grammar.	Religious instruction. Grammar. Composition. Grammar.	Grammar. Geometry. Grammar. Examinations. Examinations.
10 to 11	{ First. Second Third	Singing. Singing. Geometry or violin.	Religious instruction. Methods of instruction. Arithmetic or piano.	Religious instruction. Geometry or piano. Organ.	Religious instruction. Arithmetic or piano. Organ. Writing.	Religious instruction. Methods of instruction. Geometry or piano. Organ or composition.	Singing. Singing. Arithmetic or piano. Organ.
11 to 12	{ First. Second Third	Organ. Drawing. Organ.	Organ or methods of in- struction. Writing. Drawing.	Recitations. Organ. Writing.	Organ. Writing. Methods of instruction. [or organ].	Organ or composition. Drawing. Organ. Recitations. Writing.	Organ. Drawing. Organ. Arithmetic. Recitations.
1 to 2	{ First. Second Third	Organ. Drawing. Organ.	Organ. Writing. Piano.	Recitations. Organ. Writing.	Organ. Writing. Methods of instruction. Piano.	Organ or composition. Drawing. Organ. Recitations. Writing.	Organ. Drawing. Organ. Arithmetic. Recitations.
2 to 3	{ First. Second Third	Organ. Drawing. Piano.	Organ. Writing. Piano.	Recitations. Organ. Writing.	Organ. Writing. Methods of instruction. Piano.	Organ or composition. Drawing. Organ. Recitations. Writing.	Organ. Drawing. Organ. Arithmetic. Recitations.
3 to 4	{ First. Second Third	Methods of instruction.	Natural philosophy. Piano. Geography.	Art of teaching deaf and dumb. Piano. Profane history.	Natural history. Piano. Methods of instruction. Thorough bass.	Natural philosophy. Piano. Profane history. Profane history. Thorough bass.	Art of teaching deaf and dumb. Piano. Geometry. Singing. Singing.
4 to 5	{ First. Second Third	Piano. Singing. Method.	Piano. Geography. Profane history.	Art of teaching deaf and dumb. Piano. Profane history.	Natural history. Piano. Methods of instruction. Thorough bass.	Natural philosophy. Piano. Profane history. Profane history. Thorough bass.	Art of teaching deaf and dumb. Piano. Geometry. Singing. Singing.
5 to 6	{ First. Second Third	Method. Thorough bass.	Profane history. Thorough bass. Natural history.	Singing. Singing. Singing.	Natural history. Piano. Methods of instruction. Thorough bass.	Natural philosophy. Piano. Profane history. Profane history. Thorough bass.	Art of teaching deaf and dumb. Piano. Geometry. Singing. Singing.

•• Further instruction in instrumental music is given in the evening.

Plan of Instruction pursued in the Three Courses, at the Normal Seminary at Lucerne, Switzerland.

Hours.	Monday.		Tuesday.		Wednesday.		Thursday.		Friday.		Saturday.	
	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	1st and 2nd course.	3rd course.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	1st and 2nd course.	3rd course.	Same as Monday.		1st and 2nd course.	3rd course.
8 to 9, or 4 past 9.	Arithmetic.	Grammar and school discipline.	Religious instruction.	Writing.	Geometry.	Composition.	Religious instruction.	Writing.			Religious instruction.	Geometry.
9 or 4 past 9, to 10 or 11.	Grammar and school discipline.	Arithmetic.	Grammar.	Religious instruction.	Composition.	Geometry.	Writing.	Religious instruction.	.	.	Grammar.	Religious instruction.
10 to 11.	.	.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	.	.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	.	.	Arithmetic.	Statistics of Switzerland.
11 to 12.	.	Singing.	Singing.	.	.	Singing.	Singing.	.	.	.	.	2nd and 3rd course.
1 past 1 to 3.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	1st, 2nd, and 3rd course.	.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.	1st course.	2nd and 3rd course.
3 to 4.	Art of teaching.	Geometry.	History.	Arithmetic.	.	.	Draw ing.	.	Art of teaching.	Arithmetic.	History.	Geometry.
	Arithmetic.	Natural philosophy or history.	Writing.	Natural philosophy.	.	.	.	.	Arithmetic.	School discipline.	Arithmetic.	Natural philosophy or history.
6 to 7.	Gymnastics.	Geography.	Geography.	Gymnastics.	.	.	Geography.	Gymnastics.	Gymnastics.	Geography.	Geography.	Gymnastics.

SECOND REPORT

ON THE SCHOOLS FOR THE TRAINING OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOL-
MASTERS AT BATTERSEA



London, December 15, 1843.

MY LORD,

THE Committee of Council on Education voted £1000 on the 14th day of November, 1842, towards the expenses attending the establishment of the schools for the training of parochial schoolmasters at Battersea, and their Lordships have also, during the present year, granted £2200 to enable us to carry into execution the plan for enlarging and improving the premises which is appended to this Report, on condition that satisfactory arrangements should be made for the future support of the schools.

We therefore consider it our duty to submit to your Lordship a general account of our proceedings since the publication of our Report in January, 1841; and to relate what arrangements have been made for the future management and support of these schools.

In the course of the four years which have elapsed since these schools were founded, we have had considerable experience of the difficulties which oppose the success of such establishments: we have been led to modify one part of our original plan, and the perspective of the future progress of the institution displays features in some respects different from those which we contemplated, when we stood upon the threshold of our experiment.

To record the results of our experience, and to narrate the reasons which have suggested changes in our original design, appear to us duties which we owe to the promoters

of education in this country. Our desire is, that our errors may become beacons to those who follow, and our success a light on their path. We also think it important that some of the peculiar difficulties to be overcome in the management of such schools should be described, in order that they may not be encountered unawares. These are the reasons which induce us to submit to your Lordship some account of the progress of the Battersea Training Schools.

Our first step, on founding the institution, was to remove from schools which had been under our immediate superintendence, in connection with the Poor Law Commission, some of the most promising pupils. We were not indifferent to the impression that, in selecting the destitute children of pauper parents as the subjects of a trial of the transforming influences of a religious training, our success would not fail to increase the confidence of the public in the ameliorative tendency of national education, on the manners, habits, and feelings of the most neglected classes; we hoped that a more active sympathy might be inspired for the 50,000 pauper children who await the legislative interference of Parliament for their efficient education in religion and industry. But our chief design was to ascertain whether, by training youths for a series of years in the strict regimen, the exact and comprehensive instruction, the industrious and self-denying habits, and the peculiar duties of a Normal School, we should not be able to procure more efficient instruments for the instruction of the children of the poor than by any other means.

We had frequently visited the schools of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine in France, and had spent much time in the examination of their *Ecoles-mères*. Our attention was attracted to these schools by the gentle manners and simple habits which distinguished the *Frères*; by their sympathy for children, and the religious feeling which pervaded their elementary schools. Their schools are certainly deficient in some of the niceties of organisation and method; and there are subjects on which the instruction

might be more complete and exact, but each master was, as it were, a parent to the children around him. The school resembled a harmonious family.

The self-denying industry of these pious men was remarkable. The habits of their order would be deemed severe in this country. In the Mother School (where they all reside), they rise at four. After private meditation, their public devotions in the chapel occupy the early hours of the morning. The domestic drudgery of the household succeeds. They breakfast at seven, and are in the schools of the great cities of France at nine. When the routine of daily school-keeping is at an end, after a short interval for refreshment and exercise, they open their evening schools, where hundreds of the adult population receive instruction, not merely in reading, writing, and the simplest elements of numbers, but in singing, drawing, geography; the mensuration of planes and solids; the history of France; and in religion. Their evening schools do not close till ten. The public expenditure on account of their services is one-third the usual remuneration of an elementary schoolmaster in France, and they devote their lives, constrained by the influence of a religious feeling, under a rule of celibacy, but without a vow, to the education of the poor.

The unquestionable self-denial of such a life, the attachment of the children, and of the adult pupils to their instructors, together with the constant sense of the all-subduing presence of Christian principle, rendered the means adopted by the Christian Brothers, for the training of their novices, a matter of much interest and inquiry.

The Mother School differs in most important respects from a Normal School, but the extent of this difference is not at first sight apparent, and is one of those results of our experience which we wish to submit to your Lordship.

The *Mother School* is an establishment comprising arrangements for the instruction and training of novices; for the residence of the Brothers, who are engaged in the

active performance of the duties of their order, as masters of elementary day and evening schools ; and it affords an asylum, into which they gradually retire from the fatigues and cares of their public labours, as age approaches, or infirmities accumulate, to spend the period of sickness or decrepitude in the tranquillity of the household provided for them, and amidst the consolations of their brethren. The Brothers constitute a family, performing every domestic service, ministering to the sick and infirm, and assembling for devotion daily in their chapel.

Their novices enter about the ages of 12 or 14. They at once assume the dress of the order, and enter upon the self-denying routine of the household. The first years of their noviciate are of course devoted to such elementary instruction as is necessary to prepare them for their future duties as teachers of the poor. Their habits are formed, not only in the course of this instruction, but by joining the religious exercises ; performing the household duties ; and enjoying the benefit of constant intercourse with the elder brethren of the Mother School, who are at once their instructors and friends. In this life of seclusion, the superior of the *Mother School* has opportunities of observing and ascertaining the minutest traits of character, which indicate their comparative qualifications for the future labours of the order ; nor is this vigilance relaxed, but rather increased, when they first quit the private studies of the Mother School, to be gradually initiated in their public labours as instructors of the people.

Such of the novices as are found not to possess the requisite qualifications, especially as respects the moral constitution necessary for the duties of their order, are permitted to leave the Mother School to enter upon other pursuits. During the period of the noviciate, such instances are not rare, but we have reason to believe that they seldom occur after the Brother has acquired maturity.

As their education in the Mother School proceeds, the period devoted every day to their public labours in the elementary schools is enlarged ; and they thus, under the eye

of elder brethren, assisted by their example and precepts, gradually emerge from the privacy of their noviciate to their public duties.

In all this there is not much that differs from the life of a young pupil in a Normal School ; but, at this point, the resemblance ceases, and a great divergence occurs.

The brother, whose noviciate is at an end, continues a member of the household of the *Mother School*. He has only advanced to a higher rank. He is surrounded by the same influences. The daily routine which formed his domestic and religious habits continues. His mind is fed, and his purposes are strengthened by the conversation and examples of his brethren, and his conduct is under the paternal eye of his superior. Under such circumstances, personal identity is almost absorbed in the corporate life by which he is surrounded. The strength of the order supports his weakness : the spirit of the order is the pervading principle of his life : he thinks, feels, and acts, by an unconscious inspiration from everything by which he is surrounded, in a calm atmosphere of devotion and religious labour. All is prescribed ; and a pious submission, a humble faith, a patient zeal, and a self-denying activity are his highest duties.

Contrast his condition with that of a young man leaving a Normal School at the age of 18 or 19, after three or four years of comparative seclusion, under a regimen closely resembling that of the *Mother School*. At this age, it is necessary that he should be put in charge of an elementary school, in order that he may earn an independence.

The most favourable situation in which he can be placed, because remote from the grosser forms of temptation, and therefore least in contrast with his previous position, is the charge of a rural school. For the tranquil and eventless life of the master of a rural school, such a training is not an unfit preparation. His resources are not taxed by the necessity for inventing new means to meet the novel combinations which arise in a more active state of society. His energy is equal to the task of instructing the submissive.

and tractable, though often dull children of the peasantry ; and the gentle manners and quiet demeanour, which are the uniform results of his previous education, are in harmony with the passionless life of the seclusion into which he is plunged. His knowledge and his skill in method are abundantly superior to the necessities of his position, and the unambitious sense of duty which he displays attracts the confidence and wins the regard of the clergyman of the parish and of his intelligent neighbours. For such a life, we have found even the young pupils whom we introduced into the training schools at their foundation well fitted, and we have preferred to settle them, as far as we could, on the estates of our personal friends, where we are assured they have succeeded. Those only who have entered the Normal School at adult age have been capable of successfully contending with the greater difficulties of town schools.

But we are also led by our experience to say, that such a noviciate does not prepare a youth of tender age to encounter the responsibilities of a large town or village school in a manufacturing or mining district. Such a position is in the most painful contrast with his previous training. He exchanges the comparative seclusion of his residence in the Normal School for the difficult position of a public instructor, on whom many jealous eyes are fixed. For the first time he is alone in his profession ; unaided by the example of his masters ; not stimulated by emulation with his fellows ; removed from the vigilant eye of the Principal of the school ; separated from the powerful influences of that corporate spirit, which impelled his previous career ; yet placed amidst difficulties, perplexing even to the most mature experience, and required to tax his invention to meet new circumstances, before he has acquired confidence in the unsustained exercise of his recently developed powers. He has left the training school for the rude contact of a coarse, selfish, and immoral populace, whose gross appetites and manners render the narrow streets in his neighbourhood scenes of impurity. He is at once brought

face to face with an ignorant and corrupt multitude, to whose children he is to prove a leader and guide.

His difficulties are formidable. His thoughts are fixed on the deformity of this monstrous condition of society. It is something to have this sense of the extremity of the evil, but in order to confront it, that sense should become the spur to persevering exertion. We have witnessed this failure, and we conceive that such difficulties can only be successfully encountered by masters of maturer age and experience.

The situation of the novice of a *Mother School*, founded in the centre of a great manufacturing city, is in direct contrast with that of the young student, exchanging his secluded training in a Normal School for the unaided charge of a great town school.

If such a Mother School were founded in the midst of one of our largest commercial towns, under the charge of a Principal of elevated character and acquirements; if he had assembled around him devoted and humble men, ready to spend their lives in reclaiming the surrounding population by the foundation and management of schools for the poor; and into this society a youth were introduced at a tender age, instructed, trained, and reared in the habits and duties of his profession; gradually brought into contact with the actual evil, to the healing of which his life was to be devoted; never abandoned to his own comparatively feeble resources, but always feeling himself the missionary of a body able to protect, ready to console, and willing to assist and instruct him;—in such a situation, his feebleness would be sustained by the strength of a corporation animated with the vitality of Christian principle.

We are far from recommending the establishment of such a school, to the success of which we think we perceive insurmountable obstacles in this country. The only form in which a similar machinery could exist in England is that of a Town Normal School, in which all the apprentices or pupil teachers of the several elementary schools might

lodge, and where, under the superintendence of a Principal, their domestic and religious habits might be formed. The masters of the elementary schools might be associates of the Normal School, and conduct the instruction of the pupil teachers, in the evening or early in the morning, when free from the duties of their schools. The whole body of masters would thus form a society, with the Principal at their head, actively employed in the practical daily duties of managing and instructing schools, and also by their connection with the Town Normal School, keeping in view and contributing to promote the general interests of elementary education by rearing a body of assistant masters. If a good library were collected in this central institution, and lectures from time to time delivered on appropriate subjects to the whole body of masters and assistants, or, which would be better, if an upper school were founded, which might be attended by the masters and most advanced assistants, every improvement in method would thus be rapidly diffused through the elementary schools of towns.

The first steps towards the establishment of such an institution for schoolmasters may be taken by the masters of elementary schools unaided, if they are disposed to adopt the system pursued in Holland of rearing pupil-teachers as apprentices in all the town schools, and completing their course of instruction by one year's training in a Normal School.

In Holland, the elementary schoolmasters of every great town form a society, associated for their common benefit. Their schools are always large, varying in numbers from three to seven hundred or even a thousand children, who are often assembled in one room. Every master is aided by a certain number of assistants of different ages, and by pupil teachers.

The course through which a youth passes from a position of distinction, as one of the most successful scholars, to that of master of a school, is obvious. He is apprenticed as a pupil teacher (an assistant equivalent, in the first

stage, to the most superior class of our monitors in England). As pupil teacher he assists in the instruction of the youngest classes during the day, witnessing and taking part in the general movements of the school, and in the maintenance of discipline and order. He resides with his own family in the city, and before he is admitted apprentice, care is taken to ascertain that he belongs to a well-conducted household, and that he will be reared by his parents in habits of religion and order. Every evening all the pupil teachers of the town are assembled to receive instruction. The society of teachers provides from its own body a succession of instructors, by one of whom, on each night of the week, the pupil teachers are taught some branch of elementary knowledge necessary to school-keeping. One of the most experienced masters of the town, likewise, gives them lectures on method, and on the art of organising and conducting a school.

The society of schoolmasters meets from time to time to receive from each of its members an account of the conduct, progress, and qualifications of each pupil teacher in the town, not only in the evening class, but in the school duties of the day.

On the reputation thus acquired and preserved, depends the progress of the pupil teacher in the art of school-keeping. As his experience becomes more mature, and his knowledge increases, he is intrusted with more important matters and higher classes in the school. He undergoes two successive examinations by the Government Inspector, being first admitted candidate and afterwards assistant master, and he is then at liberty to complete his course of training by entering the Normal School at *Haarlem*, from which he can obtain the highest certificates of fitness for the duties of his profession.

This appears to us a course of training peculiarly well-adapted to the formation of masters for the great schools of large towns, and likewise for supplying these great schools during the education of the pupil teacher, with the indispensable aid of a body of assistant masters, with-

out which they must continue to be examples of an economy which can spare nothing adequate to the improvement of the people.

The formation of a body of pupil teachers in each great town, thus instructed by a society of schoolmasters, is an object worthy of encouragement from the Committee of Council, who might at least provide the fees and charges of apprenticeship, and grant exhibitions for the training of the most successful pupil teachers in a Normal School at the close of their apprenticeship, even if the Government were indisposed to encounter any of the annual charges incident to the plan.

Few words are requisite to render apparent the difference between the life of a pupil teacher so trained, and that of a young novice in a Normal School. The familiar life of the parental household, while it exercises a salutary influence on the habits and manners of the young candidate, is not remote from the great scene of exertion in which his future life is to be spent. He is unconsciously prepared by the daily occurrences in his father's family, and by his experience and instruction in the day and evening school, to form a just estimate of the circumstances by which he is surrounded. He is trained from day to day in the management of the artful and corrupt children even of the dregs of the city, and enabled to apply such means as the discipline and instruction of a common school afford, to the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the children of the common people. He becomes an agent of civilisation, fitted for a peculiar work by habit, and prepared to imbibe during the two or three years he may spend in a Normal School those higher maxims of conduct, that more exact knowledge, and those more perfect methods of which it is the proper source. From such a period of training, he returns to his native city, or is sent to some other town, strong in the confidence inspired by his prolonged experience of the peculiar duties he has to perform, either to take a high rank as an assis-

tant master, or to undertake the responsibility of conducting a town school as its chief.

These are the views which have led us to conclude that the admission of *boys* into a Normal School, as distinguished from a *Mother School*, is not a fit preparation for the discharge of the duties of a schoolmaster in a large town.

We have gradually raised the age of admission from 14 to 16, and thence to 18 or 20 years, and we are now of opinion that few or none should be admitted into a Normal School under the latter age.

Besides the reasons already stated why youths under 18 should not be admitted into such a school, there are some arising out of the internal economy of a Normal School of sufficient importance to deserve enumeration.

If youths are admitted, none who have arrived at adult age should be permitted to enter. The youth necessarily enters for a course of training which extends over several years; the adult student commonly enters for two years. The attainments of all are meagre on their admission. In the course of a few years, therefore, the youngest pupils are necessarily at the head of the school in their attainments and skill, which is a source of great discouragement to an adult entering such an establishment, and a dangerous distinction to a youth whose acquirements have suddenly raised him intellectually above all in his sphere of life. The tendencies of such a great disparity in the acquirements appropriate to the two classes of age are obviously injurious. We have experienced the consequences of this disparity as a disturbing force in the Training Schools, and to counteract these tendencies has required a vigilance and provident care, which has increased our labours and anxieties. Few things have been more pleasing than the readiness with which some of the oldest students who have entered the schools have taken their seats in the humblest positions, and passed with patient perseverance through all the elementary drudgery, though boys have held the most prominent positions in the first class, and have occasionally become

their instructors. On the other hand, to check the conceit too frequently engendered by a rapid progress, when attended with such contrasts, we have suggested to the masters, that the humble assiduity of the recently entered adult pupil ought to secure an expressive deference and attention.

The intellectual development of the young pupils is a source of care insignificant in comparison with that attending the formation of their characters, and this could be accomplished with greater ease and certainty if they were the sole objects of solicitude. But, as members of an establishment into which adults are admitted in an equality or inferiority of position, the discipline is complicated, and the sources of error are increased.

For these reasons we prefer to admit into a Normal School only students of adult age, reared by religious parents, and concerning whose characters and qualifications the most satisfactory testimonials can be procured. The inquiries preliminary to the admission of a student should in all cases, where it may be practicable, extend to his previous habits and occupations, to the character of the household in which he has resided, and the friendships he has formed. In all cases those young men are to be preferred whose previous pursuits warrant some confidence in their having a predilection for the duties of a teacher of the poor.

Our plans have therefore tended to the introduction of young men of 18 years of age and upwards for a training of two years which we are led to regard as the shortest period which it is desirable they should spend in such a school.

Our pupils who have settled in charge of rural schools have been encouraged by the correspondence which has been maintained with the majority of them. They have been supported by the sense, that as long as they persevered faithfully in their labours, they had friends ready to help in any casualty. This correspondence has maintained the influence of the Normal School, when the labours of

the masters prevented their writing to their absent pupils. We have also promoted a familiar correspondence between the students who have left the school and those who remain; and between all who have settled in life, in order that they may have a feeling of community of interest, and maintain among themselves an *esprit de corps*, the offspring of the public opinion of the school.

The main object of a Normal School is the *formation of the character of the schoolmaster*. This was the primary idea which guided our earliest efforts in the establishment of the Battersea Schools on a basis different from that of any previous example in this country. We have submitted to your Lordship the reasons which have led us to modify one of the chief features of our plan, but our convictions adhere with undiminished force to the principle on which the schools were originally founded. They were intended to be an institution, in which every object was subservient to the *formation of the character of the schoolmaster*, as an intelligent Christian man entering on the instruction of the poor, with religious devotion to his work. If we propose to change the means, the end we have in view is the same. Compelled by the foregoing considerations to think the course of training we proposed for youths does not prepare them for the charge of large schools in manufacturing towns, we are anxious that the system pursued in Holland should be adopted, as a training preparatory to the examination of the pupil teachers previously to their admission into a Normal School. Finding that the patrons of students and the friends of the establishment are unable, for the most part, to support a longer training for young men than one year and a half, we are more anxious respecting the investigation of their previous characters and connections, and more fastidious as to their intellectual qualifications and acquirements.

When the Battersea Schools contain their complement

of 50 students, the entire charges of the institution have been on the average, about £55 for each pupil: £30 have recently been required from the patrons or friends of the pupils towards the expenses of their maintenance and education. The average annual charge on the founders of the schools, has therefore been £25 for each pupil, or about £1250 per annum, when the school has been full.

If the number of pupils were augmented, the staff of masters would require to be increased, and the average expense would be about £20 each for 70 pupils, or £1400 per annum. The plans for the enlargement and repair of the school-buildings towards which your Lordships have voted us a grant of £2200, would provide convenient accommodation for 70 pupils, and for the residence of a Principal, an officer whose superintendence of the future progress of the establishment has become indispensable.

When 70 pupils are in course of training in the schools for one year and a half, upwards of 50 would leave the establishment annually, at an expense of £30 for the training of each pupil; or if the insufficiency of the resources of the establishment, and of the pupils conspired for the present, with the urgency of the wants of the public, to defeat this plan, and to render one year's training the maximum course, 70 pupils would leave the establishment annually, at an average expense of £20 for each pupil, or £1400 per annum.

When circumstances thus combine to prevent the residence of the students in the training school for a longer period than a year and a half, the inquiries as to previous character cannot be conducted with too much care, and *the first month of training should under any circumstances be regarded as probationary.*

Under these arrangements also, the impression produced upon the characters of the students during their residence is of paramount importance.

They are commonly selected from a humble sphere. They are the sons of small tradesmen, of bailiffs, of servants, or of superior mechanics. Few have received

any education, except that given in a common parochial school. They read and write very imperfectly; are unable to indite a letter correctly; and are seldom skilful, even in the first four rules of arithmetic. Their biblical knowledge is meagre and inaccurate, and all their conceptions, not less on religious than on other subjects, are vague and confused, even when they are not also very limited or erroneous. Their habits have seldom prepared them for the severely regular life of the Normal School, much less for the strenuous effort of attention and application required by the daily routine of instruction. Such concentration of the mind would soon derange the health, if the course of training did not provide moderate daily exercise in the garden, at proper intervals. The mental torpor, which at first is an obstacle to improvement, generally passes away in about three months, and from that period the student makes rapid progress in the studies of the school. The tables and examination papers appended to Mr. Allen's ¹ Report show the state of the pupil's acquirements, and how his intellectual powers are strengthened, when his course of instruction is completed.

These attainments, humble though they be, might prove dangerous to the character of the student, if his intellectual development were the chief concern of the masters.

How easy it would be for him to form an overweening estimate of his knowledge and ability, must be apparent, when it is remembered that he will measure his learning by the standard of that possessed by his own friends and neighbours. He will find himself suddenly raised by a brief course of training to the position of a teacher and example. If his mind were not thoroughly penetrated by a religious principle, or if a presumptuous or mercenary tone had been given to his character, he might go forth to bring discredit upon education by exhibiting a precocious vanity, an insubordinate spirit, or a selfish ambition. He might become not the gentle and pious guide of the children of the poor, but a hireling into

¹ The present Archdeacon of Salop,—then H. M. Inspector.

whose mind had sunk the doubts of the sceptic ; in whose heart was the worm of social discontent ; and who had changed the docility of ignorance and dulness, for the restless impatience of a vulgar and conceited sciolist.

In the formation of the character of the schoolmaster, the discipline of the Training School should be so devised as to prepare him for the modest respectability of his lot. He is to be a Christian teacher, following him who said, "he that will be my disciple, let him take up his cross." Without the spirit of self-denial, he is nothing. His reward must be in his work. There should be great simplicity in the life of such a man.

Obscure and secluded schools need masters of a contented spirit, to whom the training of the children committed to their charge, has charms sufficient to concentrate their thoughts and exertions on the humble sphere in which they live, notwithstanding the privations of a life but little superior to the level of the surrounding peasantry. When the scene of the teacher's exertions is in a neighbourhood which brings him into association with the middle and upper classes of society, his emoluments will be greater, and he will be surrounded by temptations which, in the absence of a suitable preparation of mind, might rob him of that humility and gentleness, which are among the most necessary qualifications of the teacher of a common school.

In the Training School, habits should be formed consistent with the modesty of his future life. On this account we attach peculiar importance to the discipline which we have established at Batterssea. Only one servant, besides a cook, has been kept for the domestic duties of the household. From the table contained in Mr. Allen's Report, you will perceive that the whole household work, with the exception of the scouring of the floors and cooking, is performed by the students, and they likewise not only milk and clean the cows, feed and tend the pigs, but have charge of the stores, wait upon each other, and cultivate the garden. We cannot too emphatically state our opinion that no portion of this work could be omitted,

without a proportionate injury to that contentment of spirit, without which the character of the student is liable to be overgrown with the errors we have described. He has to be prepared for a humble and subordinate position, and though master of his school, to his scholars he is to be a parent, and to his superiors an intelligent servant and minister.

The garden work also serves other important ends. Some exercise and recreation from the scholastic labours are indispensable. Nevertheless, a large portion of the day cannot be devoted to it, and when three or four hours only can be spared, care should be taken that the whole of this time is occupied by moderate and healthful exertion in the open air. A period of recreation employed according to the discretion of the students would be liable to abuse. It might often be spent in listless sauntering, or in violent exertion. Or if a portion of the day were thus withdrawn from the observation of the masters of the school, it would prove a period in which associations might be formed among the students inconsistent with the discipline; and habits might spring up to counteract the influence of the instruction and admonition of the masters. In so brief a period of training, it is necessary that the entire conduct of the student should be guided by a superior mind.

Not only by the daily labour of the garden, are the health and morals of the school influenced, but habits are formed consistent with the student's future lot. It is well both for his own health, and for the comfort of his family, that the schoolmaster should know how to grow his garden stuff, and should be satisfied with innocent recreation near his home.

We have also adhered to the frugal diet which we at first selected for the school. Some little variety has been introduced, but we attach great importance to the students being accustomed to a diet so plain and economical, and to arrangements in their dormitories so simple and devoid of luxury, that in after life they will not in a humble

school be visited with a sense of privation, when their scanty fare and mean furniture are compared with the more abundant food and comforts of the training school. We have therefore met every rising complaint respecting either the quantity or quality of the food, or the humble accommodation in the dormitories, with explanations of the importance of forming, in the school, habits of frugality, and of the paramount duty of nurturing a patient spirit, to meet the future privations of the life of a teacher of the poor. Though we have admitted some variety into the ingredients of the diet, we have not increased the quantity, or raised the quality, of the food of the school, or added one element even of additional comfort to their life.

Our experience also leads us to attach much importance to simplicity and propriety of dress. For the younger pupils we had, on this account, prepared a plain dark dress of rifle green, and a working dress of fustian cord. As respects the adults, we have felt the importance of checking the slightest tendency to peculiarity of dress, lest it should degenerate into foppery. We have endeavoured to impress on the students that the dress and the manners of a master of a School for the poor should be decorous, but that the prudence of his life should likewise find expression in their simplicity. There should be no habit nor external sign of self-indulgence or vanity.

On the other hand, the master is to be prepared for a life of laborious exertion. He must, therefore, form habits of early rising, and of activity and persevering industry. In the winter, before it is light, the household work must be finished, and the school-rooms prepared by the students for the duties of the day. One hour and a half is thus occupied. After this work is accomplished, one class must assemble winter and summer, at a quarter to seven o'clock, for instruction. The day is filled with the claims of duty requiring the constant exertion of mind and body, until at half-past nine the household retire to rest.

By this laborious and frugal life, economy of manage-

ment is reconciled with the efficiency both of the moral and intellectual training of the School, and the master goes forth into the world humble, industrious, and instructed.

But into the student's character higher sentiments must enter, if we rightly conceive the mission of the master of a school for the poor. On the religious condition of the household, under the blessing of God, depends the cultivation of that religious feeling, without which the spirit of self-sacrifice cannot take its right place among the motives which ought to form the mainspring of a schoolmaster's activity.

There is a necessity for incessant vigilance in the management of a training school. The Principal should be *wise as a serpent*, while the gentleness of his discipline, and his affectionate solicitude for the well-being of his pupils, should encourage the most unreserved communications with him. Much of his leisure should be devoted to private interviews with the students, and employed in instilling into their minds high principles of action. A cold and repulsive air of authority may preserve the appearance of order, regularity, and submission in the household; but these will prove delusive signs if the Principal does not possess the respect and confidence, not to say the affections, of his charge. He should be most accessible, and unwearied in the patience with which he listens to confessions and inquiries. While it is felt to be impossible that he should enter into any compromise with evil, there should be no such severity in his tone of rebuke as to check that confidence which seeks guidance from a superior intelligence. As far as its relation to the Principal only is concerned, every fault should be restrained and corrected by a conviction of the pain and anxiety which it causes to an anxious friend, rather than by the fear of a too jealous authority. Thus conscience will gradually be roused by the example of a master, respected for his purity, and loved for his gentleness, and inferior sentiments will be replaced by motives derived from the highest source.

Where so much has to be learned, and where, among other studies, so much religious knowledge must be acquired, there is danger that religion should be regarded chiefly as a subject for the exercise of the intellect. A speculative religious knowledge, without those habits and feelings which are the growth of deeply-seated religious convictions, may be a dangerous acquisition to a teacher of the young. How important, therefore, is it, that the religious services of the household should become the means of cultivating a spirit of devotion, and that the religious instruction of the School should be so conducted as not merely to inform the memory, but to master the convictions and to interest the feelings. Religion is not merely to be taught in the School—it must be the element in which the students live.

This religious life is to be nurtured by the example, by the public instruction of the Principal, and by his private counsel and admonition; by the religious services of the household; by the personal intercourse of the students, and the habits of private meditation and devotion which they are led to form; by the public worship of the church, and by the acts of charity and self-denial which belong to their future calling.

How important is it that the Principal should embody such an example of purity and elevation of character, of gentleness of manners and of unwearied benevolence, as to increase the power of his teaching, by the respect and conviction which wait upon a consistent life. Into the religious services of the household, he should endeavour to inspire such a spirit of devotion as would spread itself through the familiar life, and hallow every season of retirement. The management of the village school affords opportunities for cultivating habits of kindness and patience. The students should be instructed in the organisation and conduct of Sunday schools; they should be trained in the preparation of the voluntary teachers by previous instruction; in the visitation of the absent children; in the management of the clothing and sick clubs and libraries

attached to such schools. They should be accustomed to the performance of those parochial duties in which the schoolmaster may lighten the burthen of the clergyman. For this purpose they should learn to keep the accounts of the benefit club. They should instruct and manage the village choir, and should learn to play the organ.

While in attendance on the village school, it is peculiarly important that they should accompany the master in his visits to children detained at home by sickness, and should listen to the words of counsel and comfort which he may then administer; they should also attend him when his duty requires a visit to the parents of some refractory or indolent scholar, and should learn how to secure their aid in the correction of the faults of the child.

Before he leaves the Training School, the student should have formed a distinct conception, from precept and practice, how his example, his instruction, and his works of charity and religion, ought to promote the Christian civilisation of the community in which he labours.

Turn we again to the contrast of such a picture. Let us suppose a school in which this vigilance in the formation of character is deemed superfluous; or a Principal, the guileless simplicity of whose character is not strengthened by the wisdom of experience. A fair outward show of order and industry, and great intellectual development, may, in either case, be consistent, with the latent progress of a rank corruption of manners, mining all beneath. Unless the searching intelligence of the Principal is capable of discerning the dispositions of his charge, and anticipating their tendencies, he is unequal to the task of moulding the minds of his pupils, by the power of a loftier character and a superior will. In that case, or when the Principal deems such vigilance superfluous and is content with the intellectual labours of his office, leaving the little republic, of which he is the head, to form its own manners, and to create its own standard of principle and action, the catastrophe of a deep ulcerous corruption, is not likely to be long delayed.

In either case it is easy to trace the progress of degeneracy. A school, in which the formation of character is not the chief aim of the masters, must abandon that all-important end to the republic of scholars. When these are selected from the educated, and upper ranks of society, the school will derive its code of morals from that prevalent in such classes. When the pupils belong to a very humble class, their characters are liable, under such arrangements, to be compounded of the ignorance, coarseness, and vices of the lowest orders. One pupil, the victim of low vices, or of a vulgar coarseness of thought, escaping the eye of an unsuspicious Principal, or unsought for by the vigilance which is expended on the intellectual progress of the school, may corrupt the private intercourse of the students with low buffoonery, profligate jests, and sneers at the self-denying zeal of the humble student; may gradually lead astray one after another of the pupils to clandestine habits, if not to the secret practice of vice. Under such circumstances, the counsels of the Principal would gradually become subjects of ridicule. A conspiracy of direct insubordination would be formed. The influence of the Superior would barely maintain a fair external appearance of order and respect.

Every master issuing from such a school would become the active agent of a degeneracy of manners, by which the humbler ranks of society would be infected.

The formation of the character is, therefore, the chief aim of a Training School, and the Principal should be a man of Christian earnestness, of intelligence, of experience, of knowledge of the world, and of the humblest simplicity and purity of manners.

Next to the formation of the character of the pupil is, in our estimation, the general development of his intelligence. The extent of his attainments, though within a certain range a necessary object of his training, should be subordinate to that mental cultivation, which confers the powers of self-education, and gives the greatest strength

to his reflective faculties. On this account, among others, we attach importance to the methods of imparting knowledge pursued in the Normal School. While we have ensured that the attainments of the students should be exact, by testing them with searching examinations, repeated at the close of every week, and reiterated lessons on all subjects in which any deficiency was discovered, nothing has been taught by rote. The memory has never been stored, without the exercise of the reason. Nothing has been learned which has not been understood. This very obvious course is too frequently lost sight of in the humbler branches of learning—principles being hidden in rules, defining only their most convenient application; or buried under a heap of facts, united by no intelligible link. To form the character, to develop the intelligence and to store the mind with the requisite knowledge, these were the objects of the Normal School.

In the Village School a new scene of labour developed itself, which has been in progress since the period of our last report, and has now nearly reached its term. If we attach pre-eminent importance to the formation of character as the object of the Normal School, a knowledge of the method of managing an elementary school, and of instructing a class in each branch of elementary knowledge, is the peculiar object of the Model School attached to any training institution. In its proper province as subordinate to the instruction and training in a Normal School, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance to a teacher, of a thorough familiarity with the theory and practice of organising and conducting common schools. Without this, the most judicious labour in the Normal School may, so far as the future usefulness of the student as a schoolmaster is concerned, be literally wasted. It is possible to conceive that the character may be formed on the purest model; that the intelligence may have been kept in healthful activity; and that the requisite general and technical instruction may have been acquired, yet

without the aptitude to teach; without skill acquired from precept and example; without the habits matured in the discipline of schools; without the methods in which the art of teaching is reduced to technical rules, and the matter of instruction arranged in the most convenient form for elementary scholars, the previous labour wants the link which unites it to its peculiar task. On the other hand, to select from the common drudgery of a handicraft, or from the humble, if not mean pursuits of a petty trade, a young man barely (if indeed at all) instructed in the humblest elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to conceive that a few months' attendance on a Model School can make him acquainted with the theory of its organisation, convert him into an adept in its methods, or even rivet upon his stubborn memory any significant part of the technical knowledge of which he has immediate need, is a mistake too shameful to be permitted to survive its universal failure.

When we speak of the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with methods of organising and teaching in common Schools, we mean to *exalt* the importance of previous training of the character, expansion of the intelligence and sufficient technical instruction. Without this previous preparation, the instruction in the Model School is empirical, and the luckless wight would have had greater success in his handicraft, than he can hope to enjoy in his school.

For these reasons, among others, the attention of the students has especially of late been directed to the theory of the organisation of Schools, and to the acquirement of the art of teaching. Whatever degree of success has attended the introduction of changes in the organisation and methods of instruction in the village school is greatly to be attributed to the zealous co-operation of the Honourable and Rev. Robert Eden, who opened his Schools to our pupils, and has personally superintended the progress of these improvements with persevering activity.

It would be difficult in the brief limits of this Report to give a satisfactory account of the objects sought to be

accomplished in the *organisation* of the Battersea Village School. This would be a subject more fitly discussed in a work on Method. General indications would only serve to mislead.

The *method of conveying instruction* is peculiarly important in an Elementary School, because the scholars receive no learning and little judicious training at home, and are therefore dependent for their education on the very limited period of their attendance at school. On this account nothing superfluous should be taught, lest what is necessary be not attained. The want of a fit preparation of the mind of the scholar, and the brevity of his school life, are reasons for adopting the most certain and efficacious means of imparting knowledge, so that this short period may become as profitable as possible. The regularity of the child's attendance, the interest he takes in his learning, and his success, will be promoted by the adoption of means of instruction suited to the state of his faculties and the condition of society from which he is taken. If his progress be obstructed by the obscurity of his master's teaching, and by the absence of that tact which captivates the imagination of children and rouses the activity of their minds, the scholar will become dull, listless, and untoward; will neglect his learning and his school, and degenerate into an obstinate dunce. The easiest transition in acquirement is in the order of simplicity from the known to the unknown, and it is indispensable to skilful teaching that the matter of instruction should be arranged in a synthetic order, so that all the elements may have to each other the relation of a progressive series from the most simple to the most complex. This arrangement of the matter of instruction requires a previous analysis, which can only be successfully accomplished by the devotion of much time. Such methods are only gradually brought to perfection by experience. The elementary schoolmaster, however highly instructed, can seldom be expected to possess either the necessary leisure

or the peculiar analytical talent ; and unless this work of arrangement be accomplished for him, he cannot hope, by the technical instruction of the Normal School, to acquire sufficient skill to invent a method by arranging the matter of instruction.

In order, therefore, that he may teach nothing superfluous ; that he may convey his instruction in the most skilful manner, and in the order of simplicity, it is necessary that he should become acquainted with a *method* of communicating each branch of knowledge.

This is the more important, because individual teaching is impossible in a common school. Every form of organisation, from the monitorial to the simultaneous, includes more or less of collective teaching. The characteristics of skilful collective teaching are the simplicity and precision with which the knowledge is communicated, and the logical arrangement of the matter of instruction. Diffuse, desultory, or unconnected lessons are a waste of time, they leave no permanent traces on the memory ; they confuse the minds of children instead of instructing them and strengthening their faculties.

Certain moral consequences also flow from the adoption of skilful methods of teaching. The relations of regard and respect which ought to exist between the master and his scholars are liable to disturbance, when, from his imperfect skill, their progress in learning is slow, their minds remain inactive, and their exertions are languid and unsuccessful. A school in which the master is inapt, and the scholars are dull, too frequently becomes the scene of a harsher discipline. Inattention must be prevented—indolence quickened—impatience restrained—insubordination and truancy corrected ; yet all these are early consequences of the want of skill in the master. To enforce attention and industry, and to secure obedience and decorum, the languid and the listless are too often subjected to the stimulus of coercion, when the chief requisite is method and tact. The master supplies his own deficiencies

with the rod ; and what he cannot accomplish by skill, he endeavours to attain by the force of authority.

Such a result is not a proper subject of wonder, when the master has received no systematic instruction in method. To leave the student without the aid of *method*, is to subject him to the toil of analysis and invention, when he has neither the time nor the talent to analyse and invent.

Some progress has been made in the introduction of appropriate methods into the Village School at Battersea.

In the introduction of the *Phonic method of teaching to read*, less has been practically done than the length of time expended in the production of the Manual would appear to justify, if it had been possible to accomplish much before the Manual and apparatus were prepared. The first and second books of the Manual are now complete, being printed, with the tablets for elementary schools, in new type, by Mr. Parker. The other books are almost ready, and all will be published without delay. The complete introduction of the Phonic method into the Village School will therefore encounter no further obstacle. Meanwhile the school has been the scene of all the early trials of the method. Mr. Senf, to whom the analytical labour, and the task of arrangement, was confided, resided in the Normal School, and from time to time conducted a class experimentally in the Village School. The task has since been confided to Mr. Tomlinson, who has prepared the reading lessons for the tablets and the Manual ; and Mr. Macleod, the master of the Village School, has practically tested the labours of these gentlemen, by his own experience of the method in conducting classes in the Village School. Mr. Tomlinson has also had charge of classes in London, in order that the method might not be published before its adaptation to English schools was proved by adequate experience. The limits of these pages do not permit us to enter upon the principles on which this method is based. It is perhaps sufficient to say, that it has been, in various forms, almost universally adopted in elementary schools in Holland, Germany, and Prussia.

The method of teaching *writing* invented by *M. Mulhauser*, of Geneva, and adopted in the chief Normal Schools of France, was introduced by us into the Battersea Village School, and taught there by Mr. Macleod. He has since given lessons to classes of the metropolitan schoolmasters at the School of Method formerly assembling in Exeter Hall, and now in St. Martin's Lane; and this method is adopted in many schools in London. Most of the principal improvements in this method have, since the public instruction given by Mr. Macleod, been adopted by the inventor of another method, who attended Mr. Macleod's classes for his own instruction. His copy-books and black-boards have been modified by the introduction of the most characteristic features of the method of Mulhauser; and, as there was no desire on our part to create a monopoly of instruction, we rejoice that this gentleman has become the propagator of the chief elements of this method. Some difficulty is frequently experienced in procuring the Manual and copy-books of Mulhauser through the country booksellers. This obstacle to its diffusion will be removed. The method is so simple, that any country schoolmaster of common intelligence may learn it, without trouble, from the Manual; and the books are sold at so low a price, as to be within the means of all.

The method of teaching *arithmetic* introduced into the Village School is a modification of that of *Pestalozzi*. By this method the theory of numbers, and the art of mental calculation have been taught both to the students of the Normal School and the village scholars. All the masters acknowledge the assistance they have derived from it.

We had seen the method of Pestalozzi cultivated in various parts of Europe, under different modifications, and, on visiting the Kildare Place Schools in Dublin, a few years ago, we found one of the most successful examples of the cultivation of this method, conducted by Mr. Irvine, now head master of the Lower School at the Royal Hospital, Greenwich. We never observed in any school greater expertness in mental calculation, than in the Kildare Place

Schools, nor so universal an aptitude for numerical combinations.

The method had been introduced into the Kildare Place Schools by Mr. Singh, of Wicklow, who had visited Pestalozzi at Iverdun, made himself acquainted with the method, and published in Dublin a *Manual of Exercises* for the use of the schools in connection with the Kildare Place Society.

Mr. Irvine was subsequently appointed head-master of the Lower School at Greenwich by the Lords of the Admiralty; and, notwithstanding the interruption of imperfect health, and many obstacles, has succeeded in establishing this method in his class.

He had also conducted classes, consisting chiefly of masters of elementary schools in London, at the School of Method, and there succeeded in creating interest in this new study, and in imparting considerable skill. It is greatly to be regretted that these labours exhausted his strength, and seriously impaired his health.

Mr. Tate, the mathematical master of the Training School, undertook the introduction of this method into that school, aided by the *Manual of Exercises* published by Tims of Dublin for Mr. Singh. Shortly afterwards Mr. Macleod also introduced the method into the Village School. Some months' experience led Mr. Tate to perceive that the *Manual of Exercises* might be condensed, and might be so arranged as to have a more evident relation to the theory and practice of the commercial arithmetic commonly taught in schools. With this view he was intrusted with the preparation of a *Manual*, which, after a prolonged trial, both in the Normal and Village Schools, is now ready for publication.

As soon as the *Manual* is published the lessons in the School of Method will probably be resumed. The *Manual* will be published cheaply by Mr. Parker, by whom the Tables necessary for instruction on this method will also be sold, both printed on sheets and painted on black boards.

The *method of teaching drawing from models* invented by M. Dupuis was also practised in the Training School. The development given to this method is due to the zeal of Mr. Butler Williams as a public teacher, and to the skill with which he has prepared a manual of the method. Mr. Butler Williams commenced his labours as a public teacher of this mode of drawing in the Battersea Village School, where he soon acquired, by his own efforts and ingenuity, such skill in the illustration of the method as to enable him to conduct with success the classes for drawing from models, which were immediately opened by him in the School of Method, and attended by schoolmasters, superior mechanics, and artificers. The public exhibition of the drawings made by Mr. Butler Williams' classes has established the efficiency of this method of teaching the drawing of form. Since that period, the pupils who executed these drawings have assembled in St. Martin's Church, and in a series of lessons have produced views of the interior. The elementary classes in the School of Method are re-opened, and an upper school of drawing from models has been established in a convenient gallery in Maddox-street, where Mr. Williams is now pursuing, experimentally, Dupuis' application of the method to the drawing of the human figure. The power of drawing from natural objects acquired by the artificers and schoolmasters who have attended these classes, together with the increase of their skill in design, have attracted Mr. Butler Williams' pupils to his course, and have also occasioned the opening of private classes in the new gallery in Maddox-street. It is also arranged that this course shall be required as a preliminary to an entrance into the classes of the Government School of Design at Somerset House, and for this purpose several new classes will immediately be opened.

The preliminary measures for the introduction of the *method of teaching singing*, invented by M. Wilhem, are related in your Lordships' Minute on that subject; but

the success which has attended the labours of Mr. Hullah remains to be told. The primary object of the inquiries which Mr. Hullah was directed to make in Paris was the experimental introduction of this method in the Training Schools at Battersea, and the consequent preparation of the Manual. Here Mr. Hullah carefully pursued his early trials of the method, adapted it to English use, and gave the first demonstrations of its efficiency. The illustrations of Mr. Hullah's early lectures were sung by the pupils of the Training School; and when the method had been thus tested by a prolonged trial, the Manual was published, and the classes of the School of Method were opened at Exeter Hall. These classes were conducted at great expense, owing to the heavy charge made by the directors of that building for the use of the rooms, and for several incidental sources of outlay; yet, during two years, they have been maintained by the payments of the pupils, without the aid of subscriptions, or any grant from the Government, though the expenditure of the first year exceeded £3000, and that of the second year amounted to £2000, notwithstanding that Mr. Hullah's services were gratuitous, and that he remunerated his assistants. During the first year, 2657 members were in attendance on these classes, and during the second year 2325, and Mr. Hullah now has 1200 members in his upper schools, besides those attending the elementary classes, although in every part of London both elementary classes and upper schools are conducted by his pupils and assistants. The method has likewise been introduced by Mr. Hullah into the public schools of Eton, Winchester, the Charter House, Merchant Tailors' School, and into the school attached to King's College, London. It is, likewise, taught in St. Mark's College, Chelsea, the White-land's Training School, and the Central Schools of the National Society, in the Training Schools of the British and Foreign School Society in the Borough-road, in the Home and Colonial Infant School Society's Model Schools, in the Chester Diocesan Training School, in the

Model and Normal Schools of the Irish Commissioners in **Dublin**, in the **Norwood Schools**, and those of the **Royal Hospital, Greenwich**, and in the majority of well-conducted **elementary schools** both in town and country. **Mr. Hullah** is now **Professor of Vocal Music** in **King's College**.

The **Manual** is published in various forms, and the number of each of these forms sold by **Mr. Parker** may give some idea of the extent to which the method is diffused. We have, therefore, appended in a note a statement of the number of copies sold 'About 130,000 copies of the first part of the **Manual, Exercises, Sheets**,

^a *Statement of the Sale of Copies of Hullah's Manuals for Singing, December 12.*

Hullah's Manual	Part 1.	31,200	
	Part 2.	25,800	
		<hr/>	57,000
Exercises	Book 1.	95,000	
	Book 2.	44,300	
	Book 3.	31,000	
		<hr/>	170,300
Large Sheets	1 to 10	1738	
	11 — 20	1170	
	21 — 30	672	
	31 — 40	550	
	41 — 50	417	
	51 — 60	325	
	61 — 70	290	
	71 — 80	242	
	81 — 90	531	
	91 — 100	214	
		<hr/>	
		5849	
		10	
		<hr/>	58,490
Hullah's Vocal Grammar			1150
Tablets for Monitorial Schools			173

Statement of the Sale of Copies of Mr. Hullah's Part Music.

	Class A.	Class B.	Class C.
Score, No. 1	3030	2100	1025
" 2	1450	1250	680
" 3	1050	730	500
" 4	850	90	*
" 5	820	*	*
" 6	740	*	*
" 7	360	*	*
" 8	170	*	*
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8470	4170	2205

Those numbers marked * not yet published.

and Tablets are in use. Estimating that 100 children are under instruction in every case in which the large sheets and tablets are in course of sale, and that only one person receives instruction from each copy of the Manual, Grammar, and Exercises in course of distribution, upwards of 300,000 persons are now receiving instruction in singing according to this method in England and Wales, without reckoning those who have entered upper schools, and are now using the Part Music and Psalter. Mr. Hullah's Part Music is printed for three classes of voices, each class being also printed both in score and for each separate voice, in order to provide appropriate music for the practice of the upper schools. In the course of a few months 47,765 copies of the separate numbers of this Part Music have been sold, and 16,305 copies of the first number of each part in score or for a separate voice.

Mr. Hullah's labours for the diffusion of popular instruction in music are, for the present, completed by the publication of a Psalter.

Those methods of teaching grammar and etymology to which the denomination of *intellectual methods* had been given by the late conductor of the Edinburgh Sessional School, Mr. Wood, have been satisfactorily established, both in the instruction of the Village School and that of the Normal School. In the Normal School the course of instruction in grammar is more extensive, and a grammar

Statement of the Sale of Mr. Hullah's Part Music—continued.

	Soprano.	Alto.	Tenor.	Bass.	Summary.	General Summary.
No. 1	3800	1900	2200	2250	Soprano 11,450	Class A.—
2	1980	1090	1330	1390	Alto . 5930	Score . . 8470
3	1550	775	1100	1150	Tenor . 7675	Separate
4	1200	625	830	870	Bass . 7865	Voices. } 32,920
5	1130	560	780	830		Class B. 4170
6	1000	520	710	750	32,920	Class C. 2205
7	450	260	425	425		
8	340	200	300	200		47,765
	11,450	5930	7675	7865		

of more refined analysis is employed than in the Village School, it being obvious the master ought to have a deeper insight into the construction of his native language than he can hope to impart to the scholar of a common school. In both schools, however, the aim of Mr. Wood to give a logical arrangement to the matter of instruction in these subjects, is followed.

These several *Methods* have now been tested by experience on the most public theatre, and have become an important part of the instruction of masters of elementary schools. The Manuals in which they are embodied, render their acquisition comparatively easy even to those who do not enjoy the advantage of receiving lessons in the art of teaching by them from adepts. The School of Method will place within the reach of the schoolmasters of the metropolis the means of acquiring the requisite skill; and the body of schoolmasters, whom the Normal Schools will annually disseminate, will diffuse them through the country. Every school conducted with complete efficiency by a master trained in a Normal School, will become a model to neighbouring schools which have not enjoyed similar advantages. On this account alone it is important that no student from a Normal School should commence his labours in the country, until he has acquired a mastery of the methods of teaching these necessary elements.

The arrangements for conveying instruction in these methods, have recently acquired a more definite form in the Training Schools, since the completion of the Manuals has enabled us to confide to Mr. Macleod, the master of the Village School, the course of instruction in the Phonic Method of Teaching to Read, in Mülhauser's Method of Writing, in the Arithmetic of Pestalozzi, in the art of managing and instructing a class, and in the art of giving lessons to a group of classes in the gallery, as well as such outlines of the discipline and organisation of schools as his experience suggests. To Mr. Butler Williams would have been confided the instruction in the method of teach-

ing drawing from models, and to Mr. May is intrusted that of singing after the method of Wilhem. The Rev. John Hunter, who is acquainted with the *intellectual methods* of Mr. Wood, conveys his instruction in grammar and etymology on those methods, and likewise the Biblical instruction, which is his peculiar charge.

On the theory of the discipline and organization of elementary Schools no complete course has hitherto been attempted in the Training Schools. Sufficient leisure has not been found for the completion of a Manual on this subject.

In a course of instruction extending over a year and a half, a student ought to spend three hours daily, during six or eight months, in the practice of the art of teaching in the Village School. When the course of instruction is necessarily limited to one year, four months should be thus employed, and during the entire period of his training, instruction in method should form an element of the daily routine in the Normal School.

By such means alone can a rational conception of method be attained, and that skill in the art of conducting a School and instructing a class without which all the labours of the Normal School in imparting technical knowledge are wasted, because the student has no power of communicating it to others.

The Battersea Training Schools were founded in the hope that they would be employed to assist the executive Government in supplying masters to the Schools of industry for pauper children, to the prisons for juvenile offenders, to the Schools of Royal foundation for the army and navy, to the Schools of the dockyards and men-of-war, and to the colonies.

The constitution impressed upon them was conceived with this view. We intended that these Schools should be under the direction of the State and in harmony with the Church.

The religious teaching was confided to the Honourable

and Rev. Robert Eden, Vicar of the Parish, and the Rev. J. Hunter, by whom the instruction in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Liturgy and Catechism, was conducted, and the religious discipline was superintended. Our desire was that the religious instruction should be positive; that it should be occupied with the exposition of truth; and that it should be copious, comprehending the great standards of our faith, so as to prepare the masters trained in the School to become in truth Christian teachers with all the strength of conviction and feeling.

In the asylum of indigence, and in the service of the State the law knows no distinctions of religion. It provides alike for the necessities of all whose services it demands. Pauperism is succoured without an inquiry into creeds, and crime is scourged without distinction of opinions. The Masters of Schools for such asylums by law belong to the Church of England, but we conceived they might be faithful to that Church without being intolerant to those who separate from her communion. We desired to rear Christian teachers, not antagonists of supposed error, but men regarding the Church with reverence and affection, and all Christians as brethren. We hoped that without adopting any previous *limits* for secular instruction, or acknowledging any rule but that of efficiency in the methods and matter of learning, the Schools might enjoy the confidence of the heads of the Church.

With these relations to the Church, and to those who separate from her communion, we desired to place the institution under the guidance of the executive Government, in order that the great Schools under its immediate control might be supplied with masters from this source.

The late Government left on Record the following Minute (*see Appendix*), approving the constitution of the Schools, and recommending that a grant towards the expenses incurred by their founders should be included in the estimates of the year.

The Committee of Council, over which your Lordship has presided, voted £1,000 in 1842, towards the expenses attending the establishment of the Schools.

This year your Lordship is aware, that we renewed our application for aid in a letter contained in the note at the foot of this page.¹

¹ My Lord,—

You communicated to me the decision of the Committee of Council, on my letter, applying for a grant towards the establishment and support of the Battersea Training and Village Schools, and expressed on behalf of their Lordships a desire that the permanent prosperity of these schools might be secured. Their Lordships were pleased to grant £2000, on condition that the trustees of the school procured a lease of the premises which they now occupy at Battersea, and that the Committee could be satisfied that the schools were likely to be maintained in a state of efficiency for a reasonable period.

I did not hesitate to express to your Lordship my determination to do every thing that lay in my power to carry the wishes of the Committee into execution. I lost no time in making inquiries as to the terms on which it would be prudent to take a lease of the premises, and I now submit the result of those inquiries.

The schools have been conducted with the most rigid economy, and we have, therefore, avoided expending money on the repairs of the premises. Consequently, a considerable outlay on repairs is now unavoidable. I apprehend that about £400 would be required to put the premises into tenantable repair.

We have hitherto, likewise, been content with imperfect arrangements. We use one of the class rooms as a dining-hall. We have no convenient washing-room; the communication between the different parts of the premises is circuitous; and the domestic offices are not separated from that part of the building in which the students reside.

The greatest defect is, that the students sleep in common dormitories, each room containing many beds, placed near each other. I stated in my previous letter, that the whole body of students will now be adults, and the course of training limited to one year. The common dormitories were first occupied when boys only were admitted into the establishment, and when the course of instruction extended to three years. Separate dormitories have become necessary since we have admitted only young men. We propose to convert a range of stabling attached to the premises into a series of small separate bed-rooms, and to add another story to this and an adjoining building.

A lease of the premises without these repairs and alterations would be very undesirable. We have submitted to great inconvenience as long as we regarded the schools as provisional; but the improvement of the premises is indispensable to their prolonged occupation.

I lay before your Lordship, therefore, plans of the alterations in the premises, which are indispensable if we take a lease. They have been designed, and will be executed, on the most economical scale of expenditure. Mr. Cubitt has surveyed the premises, and furnished me with an estimate of the cost of these improvements, amounting to £2000, without including some general repairs which may be estimated at £200.

We should be unwilling to remove the training school from Battersea; our associations with the vicar have been harmonious; the parochial school,

After renewed deliberation the Committee of Council resolved to grant £2200 towards the expense of enlarging and improving the School buildings, on condition that a

which serves as our model school, has attained a degree of excellence, which, if we removed from this parish, could not be reached without the labour of years. We should not willingly commit the practical injustice of having raised this parochial school to its present state of efficiency, and then abandoned it, to the great injury of the parish, nor lose the aid of a school of such merit for the illustration of method to our pupils.

Having obtained the estimate of the cost of the projected improvements, I laid the plans and estimate before the landlord. He agrees to grant us a lease for seven, fourteen, and twenty-one years, and to contribute £400 towards the outlay, leaving £1800 to be provided for by your Lordships' grant. The grant of the Committee of Council will thus be reduced to £200, or barely a reasonable allowance for unforeseen contingencies.

We should hold the premises at a moderate rent, and I should be disposed to take a lease for seven, fourteen, and twenty-one years, and with the aid of their Lordships' grant, to expend £2200 on the improvements proposed in the plan which accompanies this letter, and on other repairs, under the following arrangements:—

That the students entering the School consist of four classes.

1. Those who provide the whole cost of their maintenance and education themselves, or by their patrons. These students will be free to settle where they please at the close of their course of training.

2. Those who provide £30 towards the cost of their maintenance and education, and who sign an agreement to serve the Government for five years from the period when they pass the examination for the first year's certificate. The subsequent regulations A and B apply to this class.

3. Those who provide £30 towards the cost of their maintenance and education, and give security for the payment of £25 within one year of the period when they leave the institution. These students will be free to settle where they please.

4. The trustees will offer every quarter an exhibition of £25 to the best candidate for admission, who may be able to pass a preliminary examination in religious knowledge, English grammar, etymology, and composition; arithmetic, as far as decimals; algebra, as far as simple equations; and the geography of Palestine and England. The trials will be conducted by the masters by means of examination papers and oral questions. The successful candidates will be admitted to one year's training for £30, without any condition as to future service.

5. The trustees will offer an exhibition every quarter to the ten students whose year of training expires in that quarter, upon trials by examination papers, oral questioning, and public teaching in the village school. They will award this exhibition to that student, whose proficiency in his studies, skill in teaching, conduct in the institution, and general character, shall appear to the Directors and masters most fully to warrant confidence in his success as the master of an elementary School. This exhibition for students of the first class shall consist of £25.

Students of the second class who have agreed to serve the Government, may fulfil the agreement without repaying £25 from their salaries: and the

lease of the premises were taken, and that satisfactory arrangements were made for the permanent support of the institution.

We had expended upwards of £5000 in the management of the training School will then have no claim on the Government for any payment on behalf of such student.

Students of the third class will by this exhibition free their sureties from the repayment of £25.

Students of the fourth class will gain a second exhibition of £25, and will pay only £5 for one year's training.

A. That students who belong to the second class shall sign an agreement to serve the Government as schoolmasters for five years after they obtain their certificates.

1. In any establishment containing a School under the executive Government.

2. In any School connected with the army, navy, or dock-yards.

3. In any institution for the reformation of criminal youth.

4. Or for the training of pauper children.

5. In any model School, partly or wholly supported by aid from the Committee of Council.

6. Or as inspectors or masters of model Schools in the colonies.

With a proviso that they shall not be required to serve for less than £50 per annum, and also, that if the salary exceed £70 per annum, they shall repay to the Government by annual instalments, in two years, the premium advanced on their behalf. An account shall be kept in the training School of the repayment of these instalments on behalf of the Government.

B. For every student signing such an agreement, the Government shall pay £25 to the training School, upon the presentation of a certificate from the Inspector, that the student has been instructed and trained for one year, and has, after the usual periodical examinations, obtained a diploma, certifying his good conduct, industry, capacity, and skill, the subjects upon which he has been examined, and the degree of competency he has acquired in each, which diploma shall be signed by the Directors, the vicar of the parish, and by the chaplain and masters of the training and village Schools, and countersigned by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools.

Under this arrangement the trustees will assume the pecuniary risks of maintaining the establishment, and whatever responsibility may be connected with its management.

In order to conduct the establishment efficiently, it will be necessary to raise £500 or £600 annually by subscriptions beyond the grants of the Committee of Council, or of the patrons of students, and the payments of the pupils themselves.

I have no doubt that contributions to this extent can be secured, and that the stimulus which will be given to the Schools, if the Committee approve this arrangement, will ensure their prosperity.

On the other hand, the adoption of this arrangement, or of some similar plan, appears the only alternative to the immediate dissolution of the Schools.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. P. K. S.

ment of the Schools; of this £1000 had been received from the patrons and friends of pupils towards the expenses of their training, and £1500 had been contributed by our personal friends (*see Appendix*) with unsolicited confidence and generosity. Our own expenses amounted to £2500.

We felt that in future the Schools could not be conducted without the aid of a Principal, and that our expenses would therefore rise from £1200 to £1500 per annum. We were unable to pledge our personal resources to this extent, and we could not claim the grant of £2200 offered by the Committee of Council without providing for the permanent support of the establishment by arrangements satisfactory to their Lordships. We felt it necessary carefully to deliberate on the course we should pursue.

The Battersea Training Schools had been founded with two distinguishing objects:—

1. To give an example of Normal Education for Schoolmasters, comprising the formation of character, the development of the intelligence, appropriate technical instruction, and the acquisition of method and practical skill in conducting an Elementary School.

2. To illustrate the truth that, without violating the rights of conscience, masters trained in a spirit of Christian charity, and instructed in the discipline and doctrines of the Church, might be employed in the mixed schools necessarily connected with public establishments, and in which children of persons of all shades of religious opinion are assembled.

Our first impulse was to remember the generous and unsolicited contributions by which our funds had been replenished, and to turn to those friends who had offered us this voluntary evidence of their sympathy. A little reflection, and the advice of some experienced friends, convinced us that, however successful such an application might be, a subscription for the support of the Schools, in the present agitated state of the public mind, would probably raise a new subject of controversy.

The Training Schools had to a remarkable extent escaped the fierce denunciations with which the success of almost every other effort for the improvement of Elementary Education had been menaced from one or other of the great parties, and we had no desire to expose them to the violence of party feuds, unless it were clear that some signal advantage could thus be obtained for the progress of an efficient religious Education based on the recognition of civil rights. We had no assurance that such an achievement could be won, by the exertions of so fluctuating a body as the subscribers necessary for the support of a charitable institution.

We were unable to fulfil our original design of devoting this establishment to the supply of masters to Schools connected with the executive Government, and especially to the great Schools of Industry for Pauper Children now existing at Norwood, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, and about to be erected elsewhere. We therefore turned to observe in what sphere existed the greatest need of a supply of skilful and religious men, ready to devote their lives to the great work of spreading a truly Christian civilization through the masses of the people. Our personal experience had made us early acquainted with the absence of a growth in the spiritual and intellectual life of the masses, corresponding with the vast material prosperity of the manufacturing districts.

We had witnessed the failure of efforts to found a scheme of combined Education on the emancipation of infants from the slavery into which the necessities and ignorance of their parents, and the intensity of commercial competition, had sold them.

To arrest the progress of degeneracy towards materialism and sensuality, appeared to us to be the task most worthy of citizens in a nation threatened by corruption from the consequences of ignorance and excessive labour among her lower orders.

It is impossible that the Legislature should, year after year, receive and publish such accounts of the condition

of the people as are contained in the Reports of the **Hand-loom Weavers' Commission**, or of the Commission **on** the Employment of Women and Children, or that **on** the Dwellings of the Poor and on the Sanitary Condition of Large Towns, without resolving to confer on the poor some great reward of patience, by offering national security for their future welfare.

These considerations have a general relation, but the state of the manufacturing poor is that which awakens the greatest apprehension. The labour which they undergo is excessive, and they sacrifice their wives and infants to the claims of their poverty, and to the demands of the intense competition of trade. Almost every thing around them tends to materialise and inflame them.

They are assembled in masses—they are exposed to the physical evils arising from the neglect of sanitary precautions, and to the moral contamination of towns—they are accustomed to combine in trades unions and political associations—they are more accessible by agitators, and more readily excited by them.

The time for inquiry into their condition is past, the period for the interference of a sagacious national forethought is at hand. We therefore felt that the imminent risks attending this condition of the manufacturing poor established the largest claim on an institution founded to Educate Christian Teachers for the people.

We have explained the relations which the Training Schools had to the Established Church of this country, and the circumstances by which that condition was determined. When, therefore, we perceived the resources recently collected by the Church to promote the spread of Education in the manufacturing districts, we felt that to contribute towards rendering the Education there provided efficient and comprehensive, was an object strictly consistent with the first of the intentions for which the instruction was founded, and we felt that the force of circumstances had defeated the accomplishment of the second.

After some correspondence with the Bishop of London,

we therefore requested the Committee of Council¹ to permit us to transfer the grant made by their Lordships

Council Office, Whitehall, November 20, 1843.

¹ MY LORDS,—

The Lord President communicated to me the result of your deliberations at the last meeting of the Committee concerning the application for aid towards the establishment and support of the Battersea Training School.

I was very sensible of the confidence in the founders and managers of that institution implied by your Lordships' grant of £2200, towards the expenses attending the enlargement and repairs of the school buildings. The condition of your Lordships' grant, however, demanded some deliberation. You required that satisfactory arrangements should be made for the permanent establishment and support of the schools.

Such arrangements it appeared could not be satisfactory to your Lordships, if entered into with private individuals only, unless they were prepared to pledge their private fortunes for the fulfilment of the condition.

The alternative that suggested itself was, that the schools should cease to be under the control of private persons, and that their future management should be confided to some public body, which, from its position, numbers, and character, could, with a reasonable prospect of success, assume the responsibility attaching to the fulfilment of the condition of your Lordships' grant.

Upon mature reflection, and after consultation with some friends, we felt that the public body, to which alone the schools could be confided, should be prepared to conduct them on the principles of the tolerant Church of England, and to acquiesce in the existing arrangements for the internal discipline and instruction of the schools, and for the training of the pupils for their peculiar vocation. These were the principles and the methods to which your Lordships had previously extended the sign of your approbation by a grant of £1000, and which you were now prepared to distinguish by a further grant of £2200.

With this conviction, I entered into communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, proposing to them to put the schools under the management of a Committee of the National Society, disposed to carry into execution the plans upon which the schools had been founded.

I found the Archbishop and the Bishop both cordially disposed to acquiesce in this proposal.

They have since communicated with the principal members of the Committee of the National Society, and found them equally ready to concur, and I am informed that a special meeting of the Society will be held this week to consider and determine the question.

I therefore communicate to your Lordships the steps which have been taken towards the fulfilment of the condition of your grant, viz. that satisfactory arrangements should be made for the permanent establishment and support of these schools, and I request your approval.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your most obedient servant,

J. P. K. S.

The Committee of Council on Education.

for the enlargement and improvement of the buildings, together with the entire establishment, to the National Society.

This arrangement has since been completed, with the concurrence of the Committee of Council and the National Society, and we have now withdrawn from the direction of the Schools.

We have the honour to be,

My Lords, your obedient Servants,

J. P. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH.

EDWARD CARLETON TUFFNELL

APPENDIX

Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, dated June 23, 1841.

The Committee had under their consideration a letter from the Poor Law Commissioners, dated the 6th of May, describing the urgent necessity of providing well-trained schoolmasters for pauper schools, and the expediency of enabling them to avail themselves of a training school lately established at Battersea from private resources, under the sanction and with the assistance of the clergyman of that parish.

Lord Duncannon further reported to the Committee the extreme difficulty recently experienced by the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, notwithstanding repeated public advertisements, in procuring adequately prepared masters and assistant-masters for the schools connected with that establishment.

Their Lordships were, therefore of opinion, that in an estimate to be laid before Parliament, a sum should be included for the purpose of enabling the Committee to defray such part of the expenses of the school at Battersea as may appear to be a reasonable compensation for the benefits derived to the Poor Law Commissioners, or any public institutions connected with the State, in obtaining schoolmasters under their direction, or that of any other department of the executive.

The Donors to the Battersea Training Schools.

The Viscount Morpeth	£500
The Duke of Sutherland	200
The Marquis of Lansdowne	100
The Earl of Radnor	100
Samuel Jones Loyd, Esq.	100
George Cornwall Lewis, Esq.	100
Seymour Trevenheere, Esq.	100
Rev. Mr. Brown	100
Mrs. Fydel	100
George Norman, Esq.	50
Total	<u>£1459</u>



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